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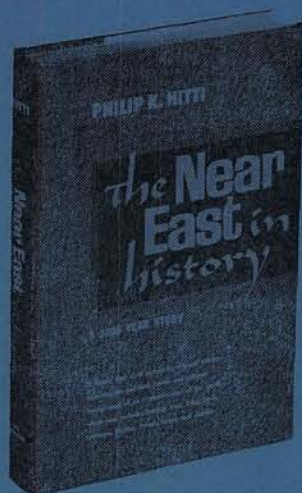
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Lincoln, Douglas, and the "Freeport Question"

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ONE of the fascinations of the Lincoln-Douglas debates is the pattern of paradox that can be traced in their consequences. Lincoln, the loser, did not sink back into the obscurity which ordinarily awaits a twice-defeated candidate for the Senate, but emerged instead as a serious presidential contender. Douglas' victory, on the other hand, is generally thought to have been gained at a ruinous cost, primarily because of what he was compelled to say in response to Lincoln's second question at Freeport. Few tableaux of American history are more familiar or striking than this famous exchange of August 27, 1858. The tall, awkward prairie lawyer cleverly pins his distinguished opponent upon the horns of a dilemma; the pugnacious Little Giant, his back to the wall, unhesitatingly chooses to risk the displeasure of slaveholders rather than that of his constituents:

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LINCOLN: Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?

DOUGLAS: It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst.¹

Momentous results are customarily attributed to this "Freeport doctrine," which retained the husk of the Dred Scott decision while saving the core of popular sovereignty. To put the matter in its bluntest terms, the Douglas pronouncement is said to have secured his re-election to the Senate while destroying much of his support in the South and to have divided the Democratic party, thus contributing decisively to Lincoln's victory in 1860. The various qualifications and refinements that careful scholars usually add to this primitive causal analysis have not materially altered its effect. In the mainstream of American history-as-record, the Freeport question has become one of those pivots upon which great events turn. Lincoln, by one brilliant maneuver, "outgeneraled Douglas and split the Democrats."²

The skeptical investigator must deal not only with a sturdy folklore tradition but also with a certain amount of undeniable fact. The unfriendly legislation doctrine did indeed grate upon southern ears and contribute to the disruption of the Democratic party. Determining the weight of that contribution is the real historical problem and the aim of this essay. In so far as a dissent is registered in the pages that follow, it is to the undue emphasis commonly put on the Freeport question and to the inflated estimate of its influence. Such emphasis tends to throw the debates themselves out of focus and to magnify the importance of finespun doctrinal differences in the breakup of the Democrats.

Before studying Douglas' reply, it will be well to take some notice of the legend that has grown up around the question. At Freeport, Lincoln began

¹ *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler *et al.* (8 vols. plus index, New Brunswick, N. J., 1953-55), III, 43, 51-52.

² Nathaniel W. Stephenson, "Abraham Lincoln," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (23 vols., Chicago, 1959), XIV, 141. Similar statements can be found by the score in writings about Lincoln over the past hundred years. Examples in recent publications are Jay Monaghan, *The Man Who Elected Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1956), 117; Harry V. Jaffa, "'Value Consensus' in Democracy: The Issue in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates," *American Political Science Review*, LII (Sept. 1958), 746, 753; *Created Equal? The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, ed. Paul M. Angle (Chicago, 1958), v, xxx.

by answering seven questions previously posed by his adversary at Ottawa and then countered with four of his own. The story goes that when he submitted the latter to the scrutiny of certain advisers, they shook their heads at number two. It would give Douglas a chance to increase his popularity in antislavery circles, they warned. It might easily cost Lincoln the election. But Lincoln, we are told, waved the protests aside and declared, "I am after bigger game. The battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."

Although the more extravagant aspects of this tale have won only partial acceptance, the tradition that Lincoln asked his question against the advice of several leading Republicans has never been seriously challenged.³ At the very least he is made to appear wiser and bolder than those around him, with the result that one more colorful thread is woven into the fabric of the Lincoln myth. Yet no part of the story can be substantiated by contemporary testimony. It turned up first as an undocumented assertion in one of the 1860 campaign biographies and was retold many times during the years that followed.⁴ In 1892 Horace White published his version, adding that he had learned all the details from one of the men involved in the attempt to dissuade Lincoln. This was Charles H. Ray, long since dead, but in 1858 the chief editor of the *Chicago Tribune*.⁵ White chose the wrong witness, however, for there is clear proof that Ray was on a business trip to New York at the time of the alleged conference. He was, furthermore, in no mood to preach caution. On the eve of his departure, he wrote as follows to Congressman Elihu Washburne: "When you see Abe at Freeport, for God's sake tell him to 'Charge Chester! charge!' Do not let him keep on the defensive. . . . We must not be parrying all the while. We want the deadliest thrusts. Let us see blood follow any time he closes a sentence."⁶ And so White's evidence is not even good hearsay.

³ Two writers who express doubt about Lincoln's "bigger game" remark, but otherwise accept the story that he asked the Freeport question over the protests of various advisers, are Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (2 vols., Boston, 1928), II, 656, and William Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937), 24.

⁴ John L. Scripps, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1860), 28; Henry J. Raymond, *The Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1865), 66; J. G. Holland, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, Mass., 1866), 188-89; Isaac N. Arnold, *The History of Abraham Lincoln and the Overthrow of American Slavery* (Chicago, 1866), 133; Ward H. Lamson, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1872), 415-16; John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History* (10 vols., New York, 1890), II, 160; Lord Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1917), 148-49; Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (2 vols., New York, 1926), II, 154-55.

⁵ Horace White's account is in a chapter on the debates that he wrote for the second edition of William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Abraham Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* (2 vols., New York, 1892), II, 109. Herndon wrote out approximately the same story in a letter to Weik on October 2, 1890. Herndon-Weik collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. He identified his informant as Norman B. Judd, but since Judd helped formulate the advice in the Joseph Medill letter, discussed below, Herndon's hearsay evidence is also unreliable.

⁶ Charles H. Ray to Elihu B. Washburne [Aug. 23, 1858], Elihu B. Washburne Papers,

Finally, in 1895, an eyewitness offered his belated corroboration. Joseph Medill's account of the Freeport episode, first published in his own *Chicago Tribune*, requires special attention because it was reprinted in the Edwin Erle Sparks edition of the debates and has been relied upon by scholars of the first rank like Albert J. Beveridge and Allan Nevins.⁷ Medill's recollection was that Lincoln showed him the questions on the train to Freeport and that he objected to the second one because it would enable the Little Giant to escape from a "tight place." Lincoln stubbornly insisted, however, that he would "spear it at Douglas" that afternoon. Before the debate, other prominent Republicans, at Medill's urging, argued the point with Lincoln, but to no avail. Two years later, just after the presidential election, Lincoln reminded Medill of their disagreement and asked, "Now don't you think I was right in putting that question to him?" "Yes Mr. Lincoln," Medill responded, "you were, and we were both right. Douglas' reply . . . undoubtedly hurt him badly for the Presidency but it re-elected him to the Senate . . . as I feared it would." Then Lincoln with a broad smile said, "Now I have won the place that he was playing for."

Medill had safely outlived all the men who might have contradicted his little fable, but in the end he contradicted himself. The Robert Todd Lincoln collection, opened in 1947, contains a letter which he wrote on the morning of the Freeport debate and probably handed personally to Lincoln. The letter summarized conclusions reached the night before by a conference of Chicago Republicans, whose primary concern, it is clear, was to help Lincoln with his answers to Douglas' seven questions.⁸ Along with their advice on this subject, Medill transmitted the recommendation that Lincoln "put a few ugly questions" of his own. He went on to list some examples, one of which has a very familiar ring: "What becomes of your vaunted popular sovereignty in [the] Territories since the Dred Scott decision?" Medill also echoed Ray's plea for more aggressiveness. "Employ your best hour in pitching into Dug," he exhorted. "Make your assertions dogmatically and unqualified. Be saucy . . . [in] other words give him h--l."⁹

Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. See also Monaghan, *The Man Who Elected Lincoln*, 115-20. Monaghan's effort to make Ray the real author of the Freeport question is, however, unpersuasive.

⁷ *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, ed. Edwin Erle Sparks (Springfield, Ill., 1908), 203-206; Beveridge, *Lincoln*, II, 656; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln* (2 vols., New York, 1950), I, 381-82.

⁸ A recently discovered letter from Lincoln to Ebenezer Peck, Aug. 23, 1858 (photostat in Illinois State Library, Springfield), furnishes additional proof that Lincoln and his advisers were chiefly concerned with phrasing answers rather than preparing questions.

⁹ Medill to Lincoln [Aug. 27, 1858], Robert Todd Lincoln collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

The story of all the apprehensive talk about the dangerousness of the second Freeport question lacks both proof and credibility. The fact is that Lincoln did not decide to ask *the* question, but to ask *questions*—partly as a matter of *quid pro quo*,¹⁰ and partly as a way of taking the offensive. Many of his friends thought that he had done too much backpedaling in the Ottawa debate.¹¹ Far from advocating restraint, they were, like the managers of a sluggish prizefighter, imploring him to "open up" in the next round, to "Charge Chester! charge!"

Once Lincoln made up his mind to fire a return volley of questions, it was hardly a display of "uncanny skill" to select one that was already being asked on all sides. He himself had raised the point in an earlier speech,¹² and Republican newspapers had been hammering away for many months at the incompatibility of popular sovereignty and the Dred Scott decision. To cite an example, the Bloomington (Illinois) *Pantagraph* of July 15, 1858, printed eight questions directed at Douglas, and the first one read: "Do you believe that the people of a Territory, whilst a Territory, and before the formation of a State constitution, have the right to exclude slavery?" Shortly before the Freeport debate, Lincoln received from a Chicago editor a newspaper clipping containing this same query.¹³ It had also been suggested to him a few weeks earlier by a Quincy lawyer.¹⁴ And Medill, as we know, included the substance of it in his list of last-minute instructions. Lincoln's final phrasing was an improvement, but otherwise it might be said that the celebrated question was virtually shoved into his hands as he stepped onto the platform. Since the celebrated reply had also been enunciated by Douglas on several previous occasions, not much was really new or surprising in the exchange at Freeport.

Not only evidence but logic is against the view that Lincoln deliberately courted defeat in order to deprive Douglas of southern support for the presidency. Well before the debates began, Douglas' fight against the Lecompton Constitution had alienated large numbers of slaveholders, so many, in fact, that Lincoln wrote late in July: "He cares nothing for the South—he knows

¹⁰ Before answering the seven questions put to him, Lincoln tried to extract from Douglas a promise that he would answer as many in return. *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler et al., III, 15, 39.

¹¹ J. Jordan to Lincoln, Aug. 24, 1858; Henry C. Whitney to Lincoln, Aug. 26, 1858, Robert Todd Lincoln collection. For the opinion of Theodore Parker that Douglas "had the best of it" at Ottawa, see his letter to Herndon of Sept. 9, 1858, in Joseph Fort Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910), 208.

¹² *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler et al., II, 487.

¹³ Charles L. Wilson (editor of the *Chicago Journal*) to Lincoln, undated, but obviously written between Aug. 21 and Aug. 27, 1858, Robert Todd Lincoln collection. See also *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), July 30, 1858; *Chicago Press and Tribune*, Aug. 4, 1858.

¹⁴ Henry Asbury to Lincoln, July 28, 1858, Robert Todd Lincoln collection.

he is already dead there.”¹⁵ Why, then, would this man who wanted so badly to become senator jeopardize his chances in order to kill something he considered “already dead”? Besides, if Lincoln did propose to knock Douglas out of the presidential race, there was scarcely a better way of doing it than by ousting him from the Senate, for such a defeat on his home grounds would have been a staggering blow to the Little Giant’s prestige. It must be remembered also that whatever course southern politicians took, the Republican party could capture the presidency in 1860 only by sweeping the North, and in Illinois, which was one of the most doubtful states, any strategy that hurt or helped Lincoln in 1858 would have been expected to exert a similar influence upon Republican prospects two years later. There was, in short, no observable conflict between Lincoln’s personal ambition and the welfare of his party, hence no reason for the sacrifice often attributed to him.

Although Lincoln and his advisers apparently did not anticipate any ill effects from the asking of the Freeport question, one must still consider the possibility that such effects did in fact ensue. Numerous historians have joined Medill in asserting that Douglas’ reply at Freeport procured his reelection to the Senate.¹⁶ Close examination reveals, however, that the assertion is demonstrably true only to the extent that it is pointless. By his anti-Lecompton heroics, Douglas had projected a new and attractive image of himself upon the public consciousness in the free states. Had he chosen at Freeport to smash that image, then the day would indeed have marked a turning point. Yet such a decision was beyond the realm of possibility because Douglas fully realized that any attempt to crawl back into the good graces of the slaveholders and the Buchanan administration would invite almost certain defeat. In other words, no one is likely to deny that Lincoln would have profited immensely if his opponent had elected to commit political suicide, but historical consequences are not ordinarily ascribed to improbable events that never happened.

The pertinent question, surely, is whether the things that *did* happen at Freeport actually changed enough votes to cause the defeat of no less than four Republican candidates for the state legislature. Since lack of data rules out an answer based on empirical investigation,¹⁷ one can only rum-

¹⁵ Lincoln to Henry Asbury, July 31, 1858, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler et al., II, 530-31.

¹⁶ For example, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, *Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1922), 89; Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (4th ed., 2 vols., New York, 1950), I, 629.

¹⁷ For an interesting, but, in my opinion, less than satisfactory effort to measure the effect of the campaign as a whole upon the voters, see Forest L. Whan, “Stephen A. Douglas,” in

mage through the possibilities and take his choice. If the Freeport doctrine won some uncommitted voters to Douglas' side, it may also have alienated others, especially Democrats still on friendly terms with the administration.¹⁸ Perhaps there was a net balance in his favor, and perhaps it was large enough to be important. But even then, in an election so close that a switch of a few hundred votes in the right places would have reversed the outcome,¹⁹ any one among scores of factors can be made decisive by definition. Republicans blamed their narrow defeat upon such things as the inequitable apportionment, the editorial antics of Horace Greeley, the influence of Senator John J. Crittenden, the inclement weather on election day, and illegal voting by peripatetic Irishmen.²⁰ Nobody at the time ventured to add the Freeport question to the list.

But now the more significant problem claims attention. What part did the Freeport doctrine play in the disruption of the Democratic party and the election of Lincoln? Beginning at the far end of the subject, it must be pointed out that the connection between the two latter events is by no means clear. That a united Democratic party could have retained the presidency in 1860 is possible, but hardly probable. The election figures lend support to the conclusion that the division of Lincoln's opposition did not give him the victory, but merely increased his electoral majority.²¹ Yet there are good reasons for studying the Democratic split at Charleston. It severed one of the strongest bonds of union and helped prepare the South emotionally for secession. In the words of Roy F. Nichols, it was like "the bursting of a dike which unloosed an engulfing flood."²² And there is no denying that the subject of bitterest dispute in the final hour of crisis was the issue raised by Lincoln at Freeport.

A History and Criticism of American Public Address, ed. William Norwood Brigrance (2 vols., New York, 1943), II, 821-24.

¹⁸ Some leading scholars believe that this was the main purpose of Lincoln's question. See Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1952), 189; Baringer, *Lincoln's Rise to Power*, 24.

¹⁹ A study of the election abstract for 1858 (MS, Illinois State Archives, Springfield) reveals that a shift of less than 150 votes from the Republican to the Democratic columns in each of three counties (Fulton, Tazewell, and Madison), a total of 357, to be precise, would have given Lincoln a fifty-one to forty-nine majority in the legislature, which re-elected Douglas, fifty-four to forty-six. In several other counties the Democratic victory was similarly narrow.

²⁰ *Illinois State Journal*, Nov. 8, 9, 1858; Ebenezer Peck to Lyman Trumbull, Nov. 22, 1858, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Clinton *Central Transcript*, Dec. 17, 1858; *Central Illinois Gazette* (Champaign), May 11, 1859; *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Nov. 13, 1858; L. H. Waters to Ozias M. Hatch, Nov. 3, 1858, Ozias M. Hatch Papers, Illinois State Historical Library; Lincoln to Crittenden, Nov. 4, 1858, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler et al., III, 335-36; David Donald, *Lincoln's Herndon* (New York, 1948), 125; D. E. Fehrenbacher, "The Historical Significance of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XLII (Spring 1959), 196-97.

²¹ W. Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892* (Baltimore, 1955), 86; Fehrenbacher, "Lincoln-Douglas Debates," 196.

²² Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), 513.

The dispute had roots that went much deeper than Lincoln's question, however, for the Freeport doctrine was of course the post-Dred Scott remnant of popular sovereignty. Throughout the previous decade, Democrats had been discussing the power of a territorial government to prohibit slavery, with no more definite results than some periodic agreements to camouflage their disagreement. What needs to be explained is why the issue should have become a matter of such deadly concern after 1858, when it was of less practical importance than ever before.

Although Douglas became its greatest champion, popular sovereignty had been broached in 1847 by Lewis Cass as a middle way between the Wilmot Proviso and the Calhoun-inspired proposition that slaveholders possessed an indefeasible right to take their property into any territory.²³ At first the principle was more commonly called "nonintervention." The two terms, while roughly equivalent, were in a sense also complementary. Nonintervention meant that Congress, whether as a matter of policy or because of constitutional inability, should not interfere with the "domestic institutions" of a territory.²⁴ Popular sovereignty lodged the control of those institutions with the territorial populations and their authorized governments.²⁵ The practical result, it was thought, would be to banish the most dangerous of political issues from the halls of Congress in the name of local democracy. Introduced first as a piece of campaign strategy for the election of 1848, this formula was incorporated (in its nonintervention sense, at least) in the Compromise of 1850, established as official territorial policy by the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and acknowledged in the Democratic platform of 1856. In all of these applications, however, the principle retained a basic ambiguity which proved to be its most viable characteristic.

The Cass-Douglas doctrine, which northern Democrats assumed to mean territorial home rule on the slavery question, was imprecise enough to allow the shaping of a southern interpretation that differed little from the views of Calhoun. Specifically, the principle of nonintervention implied congressional passivity and repudiated restrictive measures like the Missouri Com-

²³ Lewis Cass drew upon the ideas of other men in formulating his doctrine, but for practical purposes it may be said to have originated with his Nicholson letter of December 24, 1857. See Milo M. Quaife, *The Doctrine of Non-Intervention with Slavery in the Territories* (Chicago, 1910), 51-59.

²⁴ Cass based his doctrine upon a strict construction of the Constitution which limited Congress to merely establishing territories and ordering their forms of government. See his statement in *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 519-20, but his fullest exposition of popular sovereignty is in *ibid.*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 58-74. Douglas' views, while similar in many respects to those of Cass, were less clear and consistent.

²⁵ The phrase "squatter sovereignty" was often used interchangeably with "popular sovereignty," but it sometimes had other meanings: the assumption of governing powers by settlers before they were authorized to do so, and, in the South, the unacceptable northern interpretation of popular sovereignty.

promise, but it in no way impaired the assertion of a southern right under the Constitution to take slave property into the territories. And as long as the right was asserted, only a truncated version of popular sovereignty could be admitted into the southern scheme of things; that is, a territory might establish or prohibit slavery when it framed a constitution in preparation for statehood, but not before. To construe the doctrine in this way was obviously to eviscerate it. Yet northern Democrats, realizing the practical advantage of having different constructions under a cover of verbal accord, prudently avoided forcing the issue and even cooperated in the perpetuation of the ambiguity. Thus when Cass was confronted with an equivalent of the Freeport question in 1848, he flatly refused to clarify his Nicholson letter.²⁶ Two presidential elections later, Buchanan talked out of both sides of his mouth as he interpreted the popular sovereignty plank in the Democratic platform.²⁷ And in a committee report the same year, Douglas made a remarkable attempt to run with both hares and hounds on this subject which was supposedly dear to his heart.²⁸

But if the double meaning of popular sovereignty enabled northern and southern Democrats to keep up a thin pretense of unity on a divisive issue, it also served as a ready target for political opponents. Before Lincoln took up the Freeport question, it had been asked and answered many times, especially during the year 1856. Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, for example, challenged Douglas on the Senate floor to say whether the territorial legislature of Kansas had a right to exclude slavery.²⁹ In the House, Humphrey Marshall of Kentucky chided the Democrats for peddling two contradictory explanations of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and Galusha Grow of Pennsylvania demanded to know whether the Democratic platform meant that "previous to the formation of a State constitution the people of a Territory could prohibit or permit slavery."³⁰ In Georgia, meanwhile, an American candidate for presidential elector named Cincinnatus Peeples was badgering his Democratic opponent, Junius Hillyer, with the very same query.³¹

Douglas' reply to Trumbull was the standard one being offered by Democrats in 1856. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, he said, had conferred upon the territorial governments all the control over their domestic institutions that the Constitution allowed. But whether that included the power to deal with slavery was strictly a legal question and had been left to the judiciary.

²⁶ Quaife, *Doctrine of Non-Intervention*, 67-69.

²⁷ Nichols, *Disruption of American Democracy*, 49-50.

²⁸ *Senate Reports*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., No. 34 (Ser. 836), 1-5, 39.

²⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., 1369-75.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3 sess., 67, 103-104.

³¹ Horace Montgomery, "A Georgia Precedent for the Freeport Question," *Journal of Southern History*, X (May 1944), 205-206.

Douglas, in other words, plainly conceded that his brand of popular sovereignty might be unconstitutional and agreed to accept a decision of the Supreme Court in the matter.³² This idea of dumping the whole problem into the lap of the Court, which can be traced back to the abortive Clayton compromise of 1848, was about as far removed as possible from the idea of leaving it to the people of a territory. Yet the two solutions had been more or less wrapped up together in the Utah and New Mexico Acts of 1850 and in the Kansas-Nebraska Act.³³ Thus the Democratic party, under pressure to enunciate a coherent territorial policy and incapable of doing so, could evade the consequences of its internal disunity by proposing to convert a political issue into a courtroom case. But of course if the Supreme Court ever rendered a definitive decision, this escape valve would cease to function.

There were some Democrats, however, who, instead of evading the issue, sought to minimize its seriousness. Buchanan, for instance, took note in his inaugural address of the difference between northern and southern versions of popular sovereignty and then pronounced it "a matter of but little practical importance."³⁴ It was as a contribution to this strategy of depreciation that the Freeport doctrine first appeared on the scene. Junius Hillyer in Georgia and James L. Orr of South Carolina, responding to Humphrey Marshall's taunts in Congress, were among those who anticipated Douglas' reply to Lincoln. So was Samuel A. Smith of Tennessee, who answered Galusha Grow as follows:

I regard this as a question of no practicability. I have held that in a territorial capacity they had not the right to exclude slavery. Yet the majority of the people in the Territory will decide this question after all. In a Territory we must have laws, not to establish, but to *protect* the institution of slavery; and if a majority of the people of a Territory are opposed to the institution, they will refuse to pass laws for its protection.³⁵

And what was the remedy if protection were refused? "None, sir," declared Orr, adding that slavery would then be "as well excluded as if the power was invested in the Territorial legislature, and exercised by them, to prohibit it."³⁶

³² *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., 1371, 1374; Appendix, 797.

³³ The words "consistent with the Constitution" in the 1850 acts and "subject only to the Constitution" in the Kansas-Nebraska Act, together with special provisions for carrying slavery cases to the Supreme Court, furnished the statutory basis for the subsequent assertion that the matter had been left to the judiciary. See especially the remarks of Judah P. Benjamin in 1856, 1858, and 1860 in *ibid.*, 1093; 35 Cong., 1 sess., 615; 36 Cong., 1 sess., 1969.

³⁴ *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ed. James D. Richardson (11 vols., [New York,] 1913), IV, 2962.

³⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., 67.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 103-104. Orr was especially close to the position of Douglas at Freeport in that he

These statements were not entirely new. Upon other occasions, southerners had conceded that even a full confirmation of their constitutional rights could accomplish only so much and that a certain residue of popular sovereignty would always survive as one of the extralegal facts of life.³⁷ Orr and Smith resorted to the Freeport doctrine in the hope of quieting controversy and mollifying the opponents of slavery. They soothingly implied that the North could safely yield the South its theoretical rights because in practice slavery would never go where it was not wanted. Later, when Douglas appropriated it, this unguent became an irritant, but the effects were still primarily cutaneous.

Before March 6, 1857, then, northern and southern Democrats were substantially united upon a negative principle of congressional nonintervention in the territories and had implemented it by repealing the Missouri Compromise. At the same time they differed sharply over what positive principle should operate in the vacuum thereby created, but this disagreement was muted by the obscurity of party pronouncements and an informal understanding that the whole problem was deposited with the Supreme Court. The Dred Scott decision put an end to the period of dissimulation, however, and compelled a redefinition of the Democratic party's position on the subject of slavery in the territories.

Southerners could see no room for further argument. Slavery had won its case in court, and Democrats of both sections were pledged to accept the verdict. The northern wing of the party must therefore abandon popular sovereignty, except in its innocuous southern version. This is precisely what James Buchanan proceeded to do. Yet for Douglas and others like him who were already hard pressed by Republicans at home, an abject surrender to the doctrines of Calhoun would mean disaster. Somehow the old face-saving ambiguity must be restored. If party loyalty dictated a formal assent to the Dred Scott decision, political necessity required that its teeth be drawn in the process of interpretation.

Actually, the Court had ruled only that Congress was without constitutional authority to bar slavery from the territories. The Chief Justice, to be sure, had implied that territorial governments were similarly inhibited, and there was logic in the southern argument that a power denied to

asserted the finality of territorial nonprotection. His statement that there was no remedy for the latter amounted to a repudiation of congressional intervention in the form of a territorial slave code.

³⁷ For example, the *New Orleans Courier*, Apr. 2, 1854 (quoted in *Washington National Intelligencer*, Apr. 11, 1854), declared that a southerner had the right to carry his slaves anywhere, "provided the local authority of State or Territory permitted him to locate his habitation within their limits."

Congress could not be delegated by it to a subordinate legislative body.³⁸ Nevertheless, Douglas was prepared to insist that the decision itself had no direct bearing upon territorial regulation of slavery; thus he could treat the Freeport question, when it came, as purely hypothetical.³⁹ His major resource, however, was bound to be the Smith-Orr doctrine of residual popular sovereignty. Speaking at Springfield on June 12, 1857, he delivered a powerful defense of the Buchanan administration, white supremacy, and the Dred Scott decision, but then added:

While the right [to carry slaves into a territory] continues in full force under the guarantees of the Constitution, and cannot be divested or alienated by an act of Congress, it necessarily remains a barren and worthless right, unless sustained, protected and enforced by appropriate police regulations and local legislation prescribing adequate remedies for its violation. These regulations and remedies must necessarily depend entirely upon the will and wishes of the people of the Territory, as they can only be prescribed by the local Legislatures. Hence the great principle of popular sovereignty and self-government is sustained and firmly established by the authority of this decision.⁴⁰

This speech received national attention, and, far from provoking a storm or splitting the party, it was highly praised in the Democratic press North and South. The *Washington Union*, which would lead the attack upon the Freeport doctrine in 1858, printed the address in full and said that it deserved "unqualified commendation."⁴¹ Consequently there is reason to suspect that as long as Douglas remained loyal in other ways, southerners were willing to view with tolerance his use of the Freeport doctrine as a sop to public opinion in Illinois.

The storm broke when Douglas took his stand against the admission of Kansas with the Lecompton Constitution, for here he was levying open war against the President and the South on a concrete issue of major importance—something that could not be tolerated. It was bad enough that he should bring about the defeat of the Lecompton measure and refuse to approve even the English compromise, but the Little Giant's worst offense

³⁸ The pertinent passage in Roger B. Taney's opinion is as follows: "And if Congress itself cannot do this—if it is beyond the powers conferred on the Federal Government—it will be admitted, we presume, that it could not authorize a Territorial Government to exercise them. It could confer no power on any local Government established by its authority, to violate the provisions of the Constitution." 19 Howard 451. But see the statement of a concurring justice, John A. Campbell, *ibid.*, 514, which reflects a different view.

³⁹ This is why Douglas used the word "hereafter" in his reply to Lincoln at Freeport, a point that seems to have puzzled Andrew C. McLaughlin. See his *A Constitutional History of the United States* (New York, 1935), 584.

⁴⁰ *New York Times*, June 23, 1857. This was not Douglas' first use of the argument that the will of the people in a given locality would always triumph over an unpopular restraint imposed by outside authority. Previously, however, he had used it to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of federal laws prohibiting slavery in the territories. See his statement during the Compromise debates of 1850 in *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, 369–70.

⁴¹ *Washington Union*, June 23, 1857.

in southern eyes was his intimate collaboration with the Republican enemy throughout the legislative struggle. The man who had given aid and comfort to the Searses, Wilsons, and Wades, who had become a special favorite of Horace Greeley, could never again command the full trust of the slaveholding states. In the volume and intensity of recrimination heaped upon him by the southern press during the early months of 1858 there is adequate proof that Douglas had already sacrificed much of his standing in the South before he entered upon the contest with Lincoln. With scarcely an exception, the newspapers that denounced the Freeport doctrine had been denouncing its author for the better part of a year, while southern editors who defended or tolerated Douglas before the Freeport debate maintained the same attitude afterward.⁴²

During the Lecompton battle in Congress from December 1857 to May 1858, Douglas betrayed a curious reluctance to defend the constitutionality of popular sovereignty in the light of the Dred Scott decision. Trumbull, in effect, raised the Freeport question on the Senate floor in February, but Douglas brushed it aside.⁴³ At one point he even seemed on the verge of retreating to the sterile southern definition of his cardinal principle.⁴⁴ He obviously wanted to avoid giving administration leaders additional grounds for charging him with apostasy. Not until his return to Illinois in the summer did he resume use of the Freeport doctrine, and then it was more the progress of events than pressure from Lincoln that induced him to do so.

Douglas came home to a hero's welcome in Chicago on July 9, 1858, and made a speech that carried him past the point of no return in his relations with the Buchanan administration. During the final weeks of the congressional session, with the thorny Kansas problem temporarily resolved, the breach in the Democratic party had begun to heal. Douglas had left Washington in a conciliatory mood, knowing that his friends were negotiating a truce with the administration. But as he traveled westward, Nichols says, the Illinois Senator realized that the temper of the people would

⁴² Consulting numerous files of southern newspapers for 1858, I found that Douglas' Chicago speech had a much greater effect upon editorial opinion than did the Freeport doctrine. Denunciation of the latter was confined almost entirely to newspapers already bitterly inimical toward him like the *Washington Union*, *North Carolina Standard*, *Charleston Mercury*, *Mobile Register*, and *Jackson Mississippian*. A few journals which had either condoned or only mildly reproved Douglas' anti-Lecompton stand actually defended the Freeport doctrine. Among them were the *Louisville Democrat*, *Richmond Enquirer*, and *Augusta Constitutionalist*. A surprising number of southern newspapers, furthermore, took little or no notice of the doctrine in the weeks after its enunciation, and some, like the *Memphis Appeal* and *Montgomery Confederation*, even became more friendly toward Douglas after the debates began. Thus southern press opinion concerning Douglas in 1858 was both varied and variable, but one conclusion appears to be sound: The Freeport doctrine produced no significant change.

⁴³ *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 sess., 524.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 616.

not permit the slightest backward step.⁴⁵ At Chicago, therefore, he renewed his attack upon the "Lecompton fraud" and the "arrogant" attempt to force it through Congress.⁴⁶ That ended all hope of reconciliation. The administration continued its patronage reprisals, and pro-Lecompton newspapers redoubled their abuse of the party "traitor." Douglas, with the last bridge burned behind him, now had little reason to suppress his extenuating corollary to the Dred Scott decision. He gave the subject a prominent place in his very next speech, but not, it must be added, without some prompting from Abraham Lincoln.

It has escaped general notice that Lincoln actually posed the Freeport question when he spoke in reply to Douglas at Chicago on July 10, six weeks before the debates began. What was left of popular sovereignty since the Dred Scott decision, he demanded. "Can you get anybody to tell you now that the people of a territory have any authority to govern themselves in regard to this mooted question of Slavery, before they form a State Constitution?"⁴⁷ Douglas, although under no formal obligation to respond, was evidently eager to speak his mind. In speeches at Bloomington and Springfield, he not only reaffirmed the doctrine that he had enunciated the year before, but made it more aggressive by introducing the words "unfriendly legislation."⁴⁸ This went beyond the Smith-Orr version, which contemplated only a refusal to pass friendly laws, and bore a striking resemblance (as Lincoln later pointed out) to the principle of nullification.⁴⁹

At Freeport, then, Douglas merely followed the course that he had already marked out for himself in adjusting to political circumstances which Lincoln exploited, but in no way produced. The latter did tighten the screws a little when he attached the phrase "in any lawful way" to his famous question. But Douglas, if he had wished, could have skirted the legal issue by confining his attention to the inevitable fact of ultimate popular control.⁵⁰ Instead, he boldly declared that the people of a territory had the "lawful means" to exclude slavery. To legalistic southerners the difference between means and lawful means was important, and such a statement could not fail to bring added censure upon its author. Only in this very restricted sense, however, is there any substance to the legend that Douglas walked into a trap at Freeport.

⁴⁵ Nichols, *Disruption of American Democracy*, 212-15.

⁴⁶ *Created Equal?* ed. Angle, 12-17.

⁴⁷ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler et al., II, 487.

⁴⁸ *Political Speeches and Debates of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, 1854-1861*, ed. Alonzo T. Jones (Battle Creek, Mich., 1895), 110; *Created Equal?* ed. Angle, 58-60.

⁴⁹ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler et al., III, 316-18. This was Lincoln's final point in the final debate at Alton.

⁵⁰ Lincoln expected him to do just that. See *ibid.*, II, 530.

The Freeport doctrine, which had originated in offhand remarks of various southerners, thus became more formidable in the hands of Douglas and was at last angrily repudiated by the South. It is usually said that the doctrine made Douglas obnoxious in southern eyes. Yet the reverse was perhaps equally true; that is, the doctrine was to some extent rendered repulsive by its association with Douglas. A case in point is the strange behavior of Jefferson Davis.

Fifteen days after the Freeport debate, the Mississippi Senator, who had been vacationing in New England, addressed a Democratic meeting at Portland. Anxious to disclaim his reputation as a narrow sectionalist, and apparently not yet aware of Douglas' reply to Lincoln, he offered the following observations on the territorial problem:

If the inhabitants of any territory should refuse to enact such laws and police regulations as would give security to their property . . . it would be rendered more or less valueless, in proportion to the difficulty of holding it without such protection. In the case of . . . slave property, the insecurity would be so great that the owner could not ordinarily retain it. Therefore, though the right would remain, the remedy being withheld, it would follow that the owner would be practically debarred . . . from taking slave property into a territory where the sense of the inhabitants was opposed to its introduction. So much for the oft-repeated fallacy of forcing slavery upon any community.⁵¹

Here Davis was unmistakably subscribing to the Smith-Orr version of the Freeport doctrine, using it in the customary way as a formula of reassurance to those who feared the aggressiveness of the slave power. Later, however, when he found himself quoted in support of Douglas and fiercely criticized at home, he hastened to belie the clear meaning of his words. Territorial governments, he told a Mississippi audience, had the naked power but not the legal authority to exclude slavery. The dependence of the institution upon local law conferred no "right to destroy," but rather created "an obligation to protect."⁵² With this explanation, which was a brazen transposition of his Portland utterance, Davis sought to purge himself of doctrinal affiliation with the renegade from Illinois. And during the next two years he continued to atone for his slip by leading the southern assaults upon Douglas in the Senate.

The distinction between power and right was the key to the next phase of the controversy. There were really two parts to the Freeport doctrine:

⁵¹ Portland *Eastern Argus*, Sept. 13, 1858.

⁵² Jefferson Davis, *Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, ed. Dunbar Rowland (10 vols., Jackson, Miss., 1923), III, 344-48. For a good discussion, see Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, I, 416-18. The difference between Davis in Maine and Davis in Mississippi is essentially the difference between Douglas and his southern critics. In each case the legal right of the slaveholder is contrasted with the effective power of the territorial population, and one's final judgment depends upon which is given primacy.

a statement of fact (that slavery could not survive without local protection) and an inference (that it therefore could not be forced upon an unwilling people). But the southern leadership now proceeded to stand the doctrine on its head by conceding the fact and then drawing an entirely different conclusion. The Richmond *Enquirer* pointed the way in what purported to be a defense of Douglas. With an irony that may or may not have been intended, it characterized him as an honest observer who had done the South the distinct service of demonstrating a need for federal protection of slavery in the territories.⁵³ Thus the Freeport doctrine was to be converted into an argument for a territorial slave code.

This handful of dust obscured no one's vision, however, for it was obvious that the *Enquirer* had misrepresented Douglas' position. At Jonesboro, on September 15, Lincoln cleared the air when he propounded what might be called the second half of the Freeport question:

If the slaveholding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?⁵⁴

Douglas responded rather vaguely by reaffirming the principle of nonintervention, but in a subsequent debate he explicitly declared his opposition to a congressional slave code for the territories.⁵⁵

And so northern and southern Democrats were at last brought face to face over the paltry remnant of an issue that had long been troublesome but never a sufficient reason for breaking up the party. Back in the Senate, Douglas was greeted with hostility by many of his colleagues and removed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Territories. Then, in February of 1859, Albert G. Brown of Mississippi issued a demand for the protection of slavery in the territories and set off a bitter debate which ended with Davis and Douglas snarling defiance at one another. The embattled Illinoisan continued the controversy in his provocative *Harper's* article later that year, and Davis renewed the southern attack with a series of resolutions early in 1860. The running battle finally carried over into the Charleston Conven-

⁵³ Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 10, 17, 30, Oct. 15, Nov. 12 (semiweekly), 1858. The *Enquirer* angrily denied the suggestion of the Washington *Union* (Sept. 14) that its defense of Douglas had been written "ironically," but it conveniently ignored his subsequent repudiation of a territorial slave code.

⁵⁴ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, III, 132. See O. M. Dickerson, "Stephen A. Douglas and the Split in the Democratic Party," in *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, VII (1913-14), 204.

⁵⁵ *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler *et al.*, III, 141-42, 270. There is no need here to enter into a detailed description of Lincoln's powerful assaults upon the Freeport doctrine. For an enlightening discussion of his views, see Harry V. Jaffa, *Crisis of the House Divided: An Interpretation of the Issues in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates* (Garden City, N. Y., 1959), 352-59.

tion, where the rejection of a slave code plank was used by southern delegates as the excuse for their withdrawal.⁵⁶

In retrospect, the whole quarrel seems utterly senseless because nothing of practical value was at stake. Douglas and his southern adversaries were agreed that a slaveholder had the legal right to take slaves into any territory. They agreed also that such a right would be barren without the protection of local laws. They disagreed as to whether unfriendly local legislation should be offset by federal intervention. But on the other hand, it was more or less agreed that a test case for the issue could not be produced. Although challenged to put their demands in the form of specific bills, the southerners refused to go beyond hollow generalities. "We want a recognition of our right, because it is denied," said Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, "but we do not want to exercise it now, because there is no occasion for exercising it now." Asked about Kansas, where the territorial legislature had passed a law prohibiting slavery, Benjamin replied that he was not interested because there was no hope of its becoming a slave state.⁵⁷ Thus he frankly admitted that congressional intervention would be futile in the one place where it was needed.

The obtrusion of the slave code question makes sense only in the way that a chip on the shoulder makes sense—as a pretext for fighting, as the symbol of deep-seated antagonisms. The conduct of the Douglas Democrats is easy enough to understand. Losing ground steadily to Republicans at home, they simply could not yield another inch to the slaveholders. But why did the South press its hopeless pursuit of an almost useless prize? A satisfactory answer is difficult to find. While certain southern leaders may have desired to break up the Democratic party as a step toward secession, the motives of the majority were too complex and variable to be explained by the convenient word "conspiracy." Among the influences at work, there was a feeling that it would be humiliating to be cheated of the Dred Scott victory, however little it might actually be worth; a bitter aftertaste of anger and frustration from the Lecompton struggle; a knowledge that the presidential nomination would be wide open if Douglas could be sidetracked; and, of course, a fierce personal animosity toward the recreant Illinois Senator.

The most fundamental factor of all, however, was a vague and perhaps

⁵⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 sess., 1241-59; 36 Cong., 1 sess., 658; Nichols, *Disruption of American Democracy*, 296-305; Robert W. Johannsen, "Stephen A. Douglas, 'Harper's Magazine,' and Popular Sovereignty," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLV (Mar. 1959), 606-31. The decision of the Charleston Convention to write a platform before choosing a candidate has inflated the part played by doctrinal controversy in the breakup of the party. The southern demand for a slave code plank was an attack not so much upon the mild and reasonable platform of the Douglas delegates as upon their distasteful candidate.

⁵⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., 1970.

unreasoning sense of apprehension which was something more than the specific fear of abolitionism. Southerners could see the walls closing in upon them, and the defection of Douglas vividly dramatized the growing isolation of slave society. Above everything else, the South wanted security for the future. It was fighting dangers that had not yet fully materialized, and the battlefields available for such phantom warfare were neither numerous nor spacious. In the end, as Nichols says, southern leaders "sought refuge in a formula."⁵⁸ They drew an arbitrary line on the ground and took their stand behind it. But there was much more on either side of that line than an interpretation of the Dred Scott decision, for the rending of the great Democratic party was caused by the same massive, complex, and persistent forces that were dividing the nation itself. In the total picture, the Freeport question appears as one of the rivulets contributing to a mighty stream.

Furthermore, emphasis upon the Freeport episode has tended to obscure the real significance of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. In 1860 there were actually two presidential elections, and the one in the South between John Bell and John Breckinridge proved to be irrelevant. It was the decision of the free states (well nigh unanimous in terms of electoral votes) that determined the subsequent course of events. And every element of that fateful choice was embodied in the Illinois contest of 1858, as the same candidates and the same opposing principles competed for supremacy in one of the most critical states. It is in the representative appeals of both men to the northern voter, not in any side maneuvers directed toward southern opinion, that one finds the main themes of the debates. The results of this Illinois election in 1858, revealing that the most powerful northern Democrat, in spite of his praiseworthy stand against the Lecompton Constitution, could not command a majority of the popular vote in his own state, foreshadowed the political revolution of two years later.⁵⁹

In summary, it seems reasonable to suggest that the famous exchange at Freeport is not the key to the historical significance of the great debates; that no great amount of cleverness or originality was required to draft the question; that Lincoln included it among his queries at the urging of his friends, rather than against their advice; that there was nothing very de-

⁵⁸ Nichols, *Disruption of American Democracy*, 321. Two prominent historians who differ widely in their interpretations of the Civil War, but substantially agree in asserting the superficial nature of the slave code controversy that grew out of the Freeport question, are Nevins, *Emergence of Lincoln*, I, 418, and Avery O. Craven, *Civil War in the Making, 1815-1860* (Baton Rouge, La., 1959), 86.

⁵⁹ In the election, Douglas Democrats polled approximately 48 per cent of the total vote; Republicans, very nearly 50 per cent; Buchanan Democrats, 2 per cent. Douglas was nevertheless re-elected because the southern counties were somewhat overrepresented in the legislature and because a majority of the holdovers in the upper house were Democrats.

cisive about Douglas' reply at Freeport because he had already fully committed himself on the subject, and his earlier pronouncements were easily available to southern critics; that the Freeport doctrine was elicited more by the logic of circumstances than by Lincoln's questioning; that Douglas' opposition to the Lecompton Constitution was the principal reason for his loss of standing in the South; and that the Freeport doctrine, for all the talk about it, was only a superficial factor in the disruption of the Democratic party.

The Idea of the West

LOREN BARITZ*

There lies your way, due west.
Then westward-hoe

Twelfth Night

ONCE upon a time, dragons lived in the west, and sirens whose sea voices gave men to the sea, and monsters who preyed on fools, and to the west was darkness and danger and death. In its wisdom the sun daily searched the western sky in its flight from the east. At that point where the sun crossed the horizon, there was a happy otherworld hidden from men, and toward that place earthly glory and power tended. Perhaps the creatures who defended this place could be slain, perhaps men could turn deaf ears to the sea voices, perhaps the storms could be weathered and the darkness pierced. Then the promise of the west would be known as men tasted the fruits of their yearnings and hopes, as the brave fools who sailed in ignorance became wise in their victory. If men were brave enough, strong enough, and perhaps good enough, they would be able to climb the mountains or cross the seas or placate or vanquish the creatures that stood just east of Elysium. And, once there, the condition of men would be profoundly altered, for there nature's bounty was endless, happiness was certain, and death was banished forever.

As a whole, this composite west was not the usual inspiration of any single man; the shadings of the idea would lighten and darken in time and place. But one of these strands seems virtually constant in the human story: a yearning for a land of laughter, of peace, and of life eternal. The location of this land, whether Elysium, Eden, or the Isle of Fair Women, engaged the attention of poets and sailors, and frequently it was located to the west of the man who wondered where it was. Another important strand revolved around the concept of the destiny of nations, the notion that the secular sword must be taken by a nation to the west. From Troy to Greece, Rome, and England, "westward the course of empire takes its way." Sometimes eternity, happiness, and millennial themes were woven into one conception of the west; sometimes the imperial theme stood alone. At other times

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different arrangements and combinations were needed to serve the purposes of those who utilized some idea of the west, a west that might be either a place, a direction, an idea, or all three at once.

Where do the gods live, where do they most bless the earth, where is God's garden, or where does His spirit still walk? From Menelaus to Columbus and beyond, it was thought that there was a magic otherworld hidden somewhere on earth, and all men had to do was find it.

Homer's description of a happy land, because it was vague as to location, created a problem for those who came later. On his authority it could be assumed that the Elysian Plain existed. Where was it? After capturing the ever-changing Proteus, Menelaus asked this herdsman of Neptune to foretell his destiny. Proteus replied that Menelaus was not ordained to die, that the gods would take him "to the Elysian plain and the world's end, where is Rhadamanthus of the fair hair, where life is easiest for men." And then came a picture of Elysium: "No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain; but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill West to blow cool on men. . . ."¹ As a son of Zeus, and not because of particular human qualities, Menelaus would be translated to Elysium. Could mere mortals go, could they get there themselves, and just where was this world's end on which the west wind blew? Resting on this fair plain, one may recall the song of the west as sung by those who dreamed and sailed after the fortunate Menelaus, those who followed in his wake, in the salt spray of a distant sea.

Hesiod helped somewhat. When Zeus created the fourth race of men, "a god-like race of hero-men," those who fought at Thebes and Troy, the god gave them "a living and an abode apart from men, and made them dwell at the ends of the earth. And they lived untouched by sorrow in the islands of the blessed along the shore of deep swirling Ocean. . . ." The land was still god-given and was still at the end of the earth, but it was now an island, on the shore of the ocean, probably to the west, where "the Hesperian nymphs . . . guard the beautiful golden apples."² This was an ocean, however, that made men quake; "when they looked out upon the empty and spectral Atlantic,"³ the otherworld seemed beyond man's reach.

Increasingly now, this remote happy land was speculated about and used by the Greeks. They might use Elysium in a didactic fashion, as a land

¹ *The Odyssey*, Bk. IV, tr. Samuel H. Butcher and Andrew Lang (New York, n.d.), 62; cf. Hendrik Wagenvoort, *Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion* (Leiden, 1956), 282.

² *Works and Days*, 156-69, *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, tr. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (London, 1943), 13, 15; *Theogony*, 215-16, tr. N. O. Brown (New York, 1953), 59, n. 14.

³ Clark B. Firestone, *The Coasts of Illusion* (New York, 1924), 267.

whose perfection was the measure of the evils of their own society, or as a counterpoise to their conception of Hades,⁴ or simply as a genuine place without immediate relevance. Plato, for instance, described the glories of ancient Athens in her war against the kings of Atlantis, of a whole lost world west of the Pillars of Hercules, an island "larger than Libya [Africa] and Asia together" long since sunk beneath the seas, leaving only shallow water that made navigation in the western ocean impossible.⁵ Pindar, whose didacticism took the form of making the nature of this life a condition of entrance to Elysium, saw the westward Pillars "as far-famed witnesses of the furthest limit of voyaging."⁶ The general belief, as in Euripides,⁷ was that this usually western land of flowers was reserved for descendants or favorites of the gods,⁸ where even blood guilt might be washed away.⁹ For those who would search for this land, Aristotle had cheering information: "the earth is spherical and . . . its periphery is not large. . . . For this reason those who imagine that the region around the Pillars of Heracles joins on to the regions of India, and that in this way the ocean is one, are not . . . suggesting anything utterly incredible." Only the sea, he said, "prevents the earth from being inhabited all round."¹⁰

The west was thought to hide this land of happiness and also to be "the natural goal of man's last journey." Both happiness and death, in ancient thought, formed the dialectic of the west, which the Egyptian legend of Isis implied.¹¹ The west was the region of death, whose personification was often headless, that is, lifeless, or who wore an ostrich feather on top of her head, or in place of a head. As a hieroglyph an ostrich feather signified both "west" and "justice," and in time Isis became also the goddess of justice. Thus both death and justice lived in the west. As justice, Isis was present when Osiris judged the dead, and she, in fact, introduced "the dead to

⁴ Alfred Nutt in Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran* (2 vols., London, 1895), I, 279; Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (2 vols., Munich, 1941), I, 302-303, 447-48.

⁵ *Timaeus*, 24E-25D, *Critias*, 108E-109, tr. R. G. Bury (London, 1929), 41-43, 265-67.

⁶ *Olympian Ode* III, 43-45, *Nemean Ode* III, 20-25, *Isthmian Ode* IV, 10-15, *The Odes of Pindar*, tr. Sir John Sandys (London, 1925), 39, 337, 461.

⁷ *Hippolytus*, tr. A. S. Way, in *An Anthology of Greek Drama*, ed. C. A. Robinson, Jr. (New York, 1949), 205.

⁸ There is no attempt here at comprehensiveness. Other Greeks placed Elysium elsewhere, e.g., Aristophanes, *The Frogs*, 73-176. William S. Fox, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, Vol. I of *The Mythology of All Races*, ed. L. H. Gray (12 vols., Boston, 1916-28), 147: "The Greeks naturally thought of this land as lying in the distant west, some even identifying it with the islands of the Phaiakians, or again with Leuke . . . at the western end of the Euxine." Cf. Howard R. Patch, *The Other World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 26.

⁹ Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (2 vols., New York, 1957), II, 35.

¹⁰ Aristotle, *On the Heavens*, II, 14, 298a, tr. W. K. C. Guthrie (London, 1939), 253; Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, II, 5, 28-29, tr. E. W. Webster (Oxford, Eng., 1923); cf. Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Histoire de la géographie* (Paris, 1873), 112-24.

¹¹ Max Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (New York, 1929), 202-203.

Osiris and to their second life."¹² Thus it turned out that Isis of the west (death) was the goddess of the second life, and the region of one death was the region of new life. And so it may be true that "sunrise inspired the first prayers," but "sunset was the other time when again the whole frame of man would tremble." The dawn was promise, and dusk a mystery. Perhaps the life of man was reflected in the sun's own travels, so that the west became the region of death.¹³ For those people who had a concept of a second life the west, as death, necessarily signified the life which comes from death.

The idea of the imperial west came from imperial Rome, and this was a west which presumably rested on fact. Poets could sing of this west too, but, unlike the west of Elysium, this west was proved by history, that is, by the historical myths of the poets of the imperial west. Moving Aeneas from Troy to Italy, "an antique land, well warded, possessed of a rich soil," Virgil set the direction for Rome¹⁴ and clearly expressed the imperial theme of the west.

The Islands of the Blest were thought to be westward from Rome, in a specific place, discoverable by unaided mortals. Horace emphasized not empire but the west of the hidden happy land:

See, see before us the distant glow
Through the thin dawn-mists of the West
Rich sunlit plains and hilltops gemmed with snow,
The Islands of the Blest!¹⁵

By the first century B.C. the Elysian Plain of Homer had been located. Plutarch had Sertorius meet some sailors in Spain who had just returned from a voyage to two distant Atlantic islands.

These are called the Islands of the Blest; rain falls there seldom, and in moderate showers, but for the most part they have gentle breezes, bringing along with them soft dews, which render the soil not only rich for ploughing and planting, but so abundantly fruitful that it produces spontaneously an abundance of delicate fruits, sufficient to feed the inhabitants, who may here enjoy all things without trouble or labour . . . so that the firm belief prevails, even among the barbarians, that this is the seat of the blessed, and that these are the Elysian Fields celebrated by Homer.¹⁶

The ocean goes only west from Troy, and the journey to Elysium for any Mediterranean voyager by now was westward.¹⁷ Rome knew of the globe,

¹² W. Max Muller, *Egyptian Mythology*, in *Mythology*, ed. Gray, XII, 99-100.

¹³ Firestone, *Coasts of Illusion*, 205, quoting Max Muller.

¹⁴ *Aeneid*, I, 531, tr. C. D. Lewis (New York, 1952), 25.

¹⁵ *Epode 16*, tr. C. J. Kraemer, Jr. (New York, 1936), 119.

¹⁶ *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, tr. John Dryden, rev. A. H. Clough (New York, n.d.), 681-83.

¹⁷ Patch, *Other World*, 20.

guessed about the existence of a westward continent, and speculated about circumnavigation. Seneca's prophecy was unequivocal:

The times will arrive later on . . . in which the ocean will remove the impediments which now retard human affairs, and a new earth will be opened up to mankind, and the votaries of Tiphys will discover fresh worlds, and the present Thule will not be the Ultima Thule in future worlds.¹⁸

Seventh- or eighth-century Ireland produced a pagan tale of lasting importance in the evolution of the idea of the west. There is a place in the west, sang the lady of the silver wood in her invitation to Bran to come to the Isle of Fair Women, whose land is

Without grief, without sorrow, without death,
Without any sickness, without debility. . . .
There will come happiness with health
To the land against which laughter peals. . . .

Following her call, Bran was told, in one of the earliest *imrama*, of a place where

There are thrice fifty distant isles
In the ocean to the west of us;
Larger than Erin twice
Is each of them, or thrice.

This timeless otherworld of sensual and sensuous delights could be reached only by mortals who were invited by the inhabitants. Manannan, the guardian of the islands, would not molest those whose invitation was in good order.¹⁹

Among the contributions of Christianity to the Roman world was the popularization of the idea that Horace and others were wrong about the west. "And Jehovah God planted a garden eastward in Eden. . . ." ²⁰ The eastward Eden, as the westward Elysium, was characterized by abundance and ease, where the sweat of one's brow was unnecessary for the sustenance of life: "Thou wast in Eden, the Garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, the topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold.

¹⁸ Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, II, 167; Strabo, *Geography*, citing Eratosthenes: "if the immensity of the Atlantic Sea did not prevent, we could sail from Iberia to India along one and the same parallel . . .," I, 4, 6, and I, 1, 8, tr. Horace L. Jones (8 vols., London, 1917-32), I, 17, 241; Seneca, *Medea*, 376-80, tr. Watson Bradshaw (London, 1902), 428-29; cf. Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales*, I, preface, 11; James Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge, Eng., 1948), 163-67; Francisco Lopez de Gómara, "Other Notable Thynges as Tovchyng the Indies," in Richard Eden, *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, Eng., 1885), 337.

¹⁹ Meyer and Nutt, *Bran*, I, 3-4, 6, 12, 142-43.

²⁰ Genesis 2:8.

...²¹ By the twelfth century the Christian idea of an eastward paradise had assumed rather definite form, even though St. Augustine had said that the westward course of empire had divine sanction, but that the concept of a terrestrial paradise was simply allegorical, and even though the pagan tale of Bran remained substantially unchanged in Christian Ireland.²² In the east also were the fearful people of Gog and Magog who had been barricaded by Alexander but who, just before judgment, would break out and eat all who stood in their way.²³ In some way, by high mountains, impassable seas, or perhaps a wall of fire, Eden was cut off from the rest of the world.²⁴

Of the many ideas, tales, and myths concerning the location of the earthly paradise, the land of Bran and the *imrama* produced the most important. The traditions of the Celtic *imrama* were, in the tales of the voyages of St. Brendan, wrapped in properly Christian cloth. It is not now possible to piece together the original version of the voyage of St. Brendan, whose exploits were told in virtually every European tongue, and which became one of the most widespread tales of adventure in the western sea in Christendom,²⁵ with a remarkably similar counterpart even in Japan.²⁶

A Celtic version of Brendan's motive in sailing was appropriately fantastic. A mysterious flower from the promised land appeared to the twelve apostles of Ireland, all of whom wanted to set out in search of that land. The lot fell to the aged Brendan of Birr, the oldest saint of Ireland. It was decided that Brendan the younger should go, whereupon he and 158 companions set out in one boat.²⁷ Other versions told how St. Brendan wanted to find a place of peace, remote from the envy and jealousy of men, a place "over the wave-voice of the strong-maned sea, and over the storm of the green-sided waves and over the mouth of the marvelous, awful, bitter ocean. . . ." Wherever Brendan was when the dawn of Easter showed, some huge sea creature would surface so that the saint and his crew could worship on its back. Before he succeeded, according to the Irish version,

²¹ Ezekiel 28:13.

²² St. Augustine, *City of God*, V, 13, XVIII, 2; Meyer and Nutt, *Bran*, I, 149-50; Howard R. Patch, "Some Elements in Mediaeval Descriptions of the Otherworld," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXIII (No. 1, 1918), 604, n. 6; cf., however, John K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), 262.

²³ Andrew R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), *passim*.

²⁴ Patch, *Other World*, 148; George H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 24-25, 185.

²⁵ Meyer and Nutt, *Bran*, I, 161; Joseph Dunn, "The Brendan Problem," *Catholic Historical Review*, VI (Jan. 1921), 415, 445.

²⁶ Edwin S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (London, 1891), 194-95.

²⁷ Carolus Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1910), I, xli; Dunn, "Brendan Problem," 424.

the saint had sought the promised land for seven years. An attempted amalgam of Christian spiritualism and the sensuality of the earlier *imrama* produced the *Tír Tairngire*, "the Land of Promise," desired by Brendan.²⁸

The persistent attempts to derive geography from scripture resulted in countless confusions,²⁹ from which of course paganism had been free. But the halting progress of geographical knowledge toward the level of Aristotle, Eratosthenes, and Seneca eased the tension between the pagan west and the Biblical, and more precisely, Christian east. When, for example, Dante, who probably knew and made use of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*,³⁰ was amazed at seeing the sun shining on his left as Virgil led him up the island mountain of Eden, Virgil explained:

Consider Zion: picture how it lies
On earth directly opposite this mount,
So that they share together one horizon
In different hemispheres.³¹

From Jerusalem therefore the way to Eden became irrelevant, except in terms of convenience. If one considers the opposite side of the earth as east (and it is quite as sensible to think of it as west), still one may get there by moving west. On a round earth, place has more cosmic significance than direction, but direction and route remain the first problem for those in search of Eden. Thus toward the end of the thirteenth century an ill-fated Genoese expedition under the Vivaldi brothers was sent out to find the east by sailing west.³² The roundness of the earth was the knowledge by which Christendom began to revive the pagan idea of the west, though the east lingered as a place while the west, for the Catholic nations, became mere direction.

For some, the proof of the meaningfulness of the west lay not in theology or legend, but in what was supposed to be history. What Virgil did for Italy, Geoffrey of Monmouth tried to do for England in the twelfth century by elaborating the Virgilian imperial theme of the west, virtually ignoring the legendary and millennial wests, and applying it to England. Claiming to have discovered a lost British book that chronicled the history of the British kings, Geoffrey in fact drew from the history of the sixth-century

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 424-25, 430, 444.

²⁹ For example, St. Augustine, *City of God*, XVI, 9; Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, 37, 163-64.

³⁰ C. H. Grandgent, "Cato and Elijah," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XVII (No. 1, 1902), 82-83.

³¹ Dante, *Purgatorio*, Canto IV, 68-71, tr. Lawrence G. White (New York, 1948), 71.

³² William H. Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic* (New York, 1922), 8; Edgar Prestage, "The Search for the Sea Route to India," in *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur P. Newton (London, 1926), 203.

monk, Gildas, the *Nennius*, and Bede (eighth century), as well as the Roman historians, Welsh chroniclers, popular folk tales, and his own active imagination.³³ Empire moves westward from Troy, and England, said Geoffrey, is west of Rome.

After Aeneas killed Turnus in Italy, according to Geoffrey, Aeneas became king of Italy and married Lavinia, daughter of Latinus. A grandson of Aeneas married a niece of Lavinia who soon became or already was pregnant. Wizards prophesied that the child would be a boy, would kill his parents, and after much travel, would be highly exalted. The mother, giving birth to Brutus, died. When the boy was fifteen, he killed his father in a hunting accident. Brutus' kinfolk drove him from Italy. He sought refuge in Greece, where he joined the descendants of Helenus, son of Priam, who had been taken in bondage to Greece by Achilles' son. These seven thousand captive Trojans were thus of the same ancestry as Brutus himself, and because of his strength and wisdom he became their duke. In the war of liberation which he led, the Greek King was captured and by torture was compelled to supply the Trojans with 324 ships and provisions, as well as his daughter for the "scion of the house of Priam and Anchises."

Setting sail, Brutus discovered a deserted island on which was a temple of Diana. Asking the goddess where he was destined to dwell, repeating his question nine times, walking around the altar four times, Brutus fell asleep. Then Diana spoke:

Brute,—past the realms of Gaul, beneath the sunset
Lieth an Island, girt about by ocean,
Guarded by ocean—erst the haunt of giants,
Desert of late, and meet for this thy people.
Seek it! For there is thine abode for ever.
There by thy sons again shall Troy be builded;
There of thy blood shall Kings be born, hereafter
Sovran in every land the wide world over.³⁴

Brutus returned to his ships and set "full sail for the West" in search of the site of New Troy, a search that took him past the Pillars of Hercules where he saw the coaxing sirens. After fighting in Aquitaine, Brutus, about 1100 B.C., finally landed at the island called Albion, which, in honor of him-

³³ Discussion of Geoffrey's sources is voluminous; see, e.g., Acton Griscom, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (London, 1929), 99 ff., 163-65, 195; *Six Old English Chronicles*, ed. J. A. Giles (London, 1848), 92, 387-88; Ernest Jones, *Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1640-1800* (Berkeley, Calif., 1944), 376-77; Rachel Bromwich, "The Character of the Early Welsh Tradition," in H. M. Chadwick *et al.*, *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, Eng., 1954), 128.

³⁴ Edmond Faral, *La légende arthurienne* (3 vols., Paris, 1929), II, 80, shows that the oracular verses are taken at least in part from Bks. I and VII of the *Aeneid*.

self, he called Britain, and the city he built on the Thames he called New Troy.³⁵

The reputation of Geoffrey is the subject of much controversy, though most of the experts seem to agree that the "*Historia Regum Britanniae* is one of the most influential books ever written, certainly one of the most influential in the middle ages."³⁶ It is clear that his history was believed, and used by Henry VII and James I.³⁷ The impact on literature of Geoffrey's stories of Kings Lear and Arthur is too vast to catalogue here.³⁸ But by 1700 the reputation of Geoffrey began to suffer as the Enlightenment mood grew increasingly unhappy with "monkish fictions,"³⁹ though the twentieth century seems to be kinder.⁴⁰ Regardless, however, of Geoffrey's many trials, he contributed in a popular and powerful way to the idea that empire drifts to the west, "beneath the sunset," and that England, because of her westwardness, was destined for empire. As Brutus had traveled, so must empire; where Brutus stopped his journey, so must empire. John of Gaunt, with his dying breath, showed to what extent Shakespeare accepted Geoffrey's conception of England, the ancient seat of kings.⁴¹

The excitement over Columbus' success inevitably led to a more intense and general interest in the west, but still, as everyone knows, the west for the admiral was a way to get to the east. The west as west, as place as well as direction, had not yet been rescued from antique ruins. It was still eclipsed by the glare of the Christian east. Slowly, however, the west was once more to become a place, to assume a glitter of its own, and in fact to be Christianized.

Now in the age of the discoveries, the earlier myths, ideas, and attitudes about the west were to play an important role in providing at least some of the explorers and early settlers with a framework useful in understanding, explaining, and justifying their activities. It is perhaps too much to say

³⁵ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Histories of the Kings of Britain*, tr. Sebastian Evans (New York, 1911), 3-23. For a discussion of the presumed Trojan origins of other European nations, see Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh, 1957), 48-49, 108-109.

³⁶ J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1950), 3; cf. Griscom, *Historia*, 6, 166; Jones, *Geoffrey*, 357-77; George Gordon, "The Trojans in Britain," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* (32 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1910-47), IX, 9-30; A. E. Parsons, "The Trojan Legend in England," *Modern Language Review*, XXIV (July 1929), 253.

³⁷ "Basilikon Doron," in *The Political Works of James I*, ed. C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), 37; Parsons, "Trojan Legend," 398, 401-407.

³⁸ See, e.g., Gordon, "Trojans," *Essays and Studies*, 23.

³⁹ Jones, *Geoffrey*, 376-78.

⁴⁰ "I should like to see the Fables of the Britons restored to their place in the first chapter of our histories." Gordon, "Trojans," *Essays and Studies*, 25.

⁴¹ Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, II, i.

that the myth of St. Brendan's voyage, for instance, "drove forth adventurers into the Western Sea, and was one of the contributory causes of the discovery of the New World,"⁴² but it was clear that the search for Eden, Antillia, Brasil, a new Canaan, El Dorado, the Amazons, Ophir, the Country of Cinnamon, the Enchanted City of the Caesars, the Sepulchres of Zenu, the Seven Cities of Cibola, Quivira, or simply a fountain of eternal youth was the purpose of some of the explorers and early settlers.⁴³

The special significance of the St. Brendan stories is illustrated by the fact that a number of the early cartographers located the saint's islands on the maps used by some of the explorers. Brendan thus moved easily from myth to ostensible fact, and the wonderful *Tír Tairngire* he had found, now, if the map makers were right, could be found again. On the Hereford map of about 1275, approximately where the Canaries belong, the saint's islands made their debut as "Fortunate Insulae sex sunt Insulae Sct Brandani." In 1339 Angelinus Dulcert located Brendan's islands in the Madeiras, as did the Pizigani brothers in 1367, and Battista Beccario in 1426 and 1435. Others in the fifteenth century located the islands elsewhere, though on the controversial map which Paolo Toscanelli may have made for Columbus they are resting in their accustomed place southwest of the Canaries. By the sixteenth century the islands had floated up to the North Atlantic, so that by 1608 they were between Ireland and America.⁴⁴ For at least four hundred years, then, Brendan's *Tír Tairngire* was discussed in literature and located on some of the best maps of the period. So powerfully did Brendan assert himself that in the Treaty of Evora (1519), for example, Emmanuel of Portugal specifically relinquished his claim to the saint's islands. At different times expeditions were sent in search of them; always, however, when the sailors got close, a storm or a mist would cloud their view. Search parties were set afloat in 1526, 1570, 1604, 1633, and in 1721 when "two holy friars as apostolical chaplains" were sent along as special assistants.⁴⁵

Columbus' son believed that among his father's motives in sailing was

⁴² Meyer and Nutt, *Bran*, I, 161.

⁴³ Richard Hennig, "Atlantische Fabelinseln und Entdeckung Amerikas," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLIII (Mar. 1936), 494-95; A. P. Newton, "Travellers' Tales of Wonder and Imagination," in *Travel*, ed. Newton, 162-67; Patch, *Other World*, 173; Leonardo Olschki, "Ponce de León's Fountain of Youth," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXI (Aug. 1941), 372; Firestone, *Coasts of Illusion*, 312-33; Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, 92; J. L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1956), 67-70. Brendan's voyage and some other myths associated with the discovery of America have been popularized in *Life*, XLVII (Aug. 31, 1959), 55-67.

⁴⁴ Hennig, "Atlantische Fabelinseln," 469-70, 485; Babcock, *Legendary Islands*, 38-39, 42-48; Dunn, "Brendan Problem," 459-61; cf., however, Henry Vignaud, *The Columbian Tradition on the Discovery of America and of the Part Played therein by the Astronomer Toscanelli* (Oxford, Eng., 1920), 39-41.

⁴⁵ Dunn, "Brendan Problem," 463-64.

the desire to search for these perverse islands "of which so many marvels are told."⁴⁶ Later, on his first voyage, the admiral himself referred to a western isle which, according to information he had, was "Antillia y San Borondon."⁴⁷ Some must have believed that Columbus was motivated "to seek out the Antipodes, and the rich *Cipango* of Marco Polo, because he had read in Plato's *Timaeus* an argument respecting the great island of Atlantis, and of a hidden land larger than Asia and Africa," since an Italian traveler to the New World repeated the story, though he declared it to be "fabulous."⁴⁸ The admiral did cite the authority of Aristotle, Pliny, and Seneca for some of his notions of geography,⁴⁹ and his son thought such authority "did more than all else to convince the Admiral that his idea was sound."⁵⁰ That Columbus was in search of the garden planted eastward in Eden is well known. He had learned from one of his masters, Pierre d'Ailly, of Taprobane, an island which "lies in the east where the Indian Ocean begins," and which "is full of pearls and precious stones." The people, wrote D'Ailly, "are powerful in body beyond all measurements; with red hair, blue eyes and harsh voices. . . . With them life is prolonged beyond human infirmity, so that one who dies a centenarian comes to his end immaturely." To get to this eastern isle, according to D'Ailly, was not impossible since, agreeing with Aristotle and Seneca, "the water [of the ocean] runs down from one pole toward the other into the body of the sea and spreads out between the confines of Spain and the beginning of India, of no great width. . . ."⁵¹ Columbus agreed that the garden in the east must be approached from the west.⁵²

Because of their relevance, some of the details of the admiral's own thought are worth repeating. On a calm summer day of 1498 he recorded in his journal a conclusion made up of his notions of geography and his belief in the reality of the garden. He had become convinced that he had just found, not an island, but a continent, on which Eden was located "because all men say that it's at the end of the Orient, and that's where we are." What he

⁴⁶ *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand*, tr. Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, N. J., 1959), 25; cf. Hennig, "Atlantische Fabelinseln," 465.

⁴⁷ Jueves, 9 de Agosto 1492, Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos* (2d ed., 5 vols., Madrid, 1858), I, 157-59.

⁴⁸ Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World*, tr. W. H. Smyth (London, 1857), 15-16.

⁴⁹ Navarrete, *Colección*, I, 409-10; Edward G. Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism* (New York, 1901), 221.

⁵⁰ *Life of the Admiral*, 17-19.

⁵¹ Pierre d'Ailly, *Imago Mundi*, tr. Edwin F. Keever (Wilmington, N. C., 1948), Chaps. xiv, xlii, xlix; cf. Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, IV, tr. R. B. Burke (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1928), I, 312-13.

⁵² Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, 42; Bourne, *Essays*, 221, n. 3; Louis Salembier, *Pierre d'Ailly et la découverte de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1912); cf. Sebastian Munster, *Of the Newe India* (1543), in Eden, *First Three English Books*, 22.

believed about the geography of Eden seemed to coincide with his observations of the land, including the alleged discovery of the river that became four. The admiral, however, was not one to rely only on observation. Because of his puzzlement over the fact that elevations of Polaris varied on the same latitude, he concluded that the earth "is not round . . . but [is] of the form of a pear, which is very round except where the stalk grows . . . ; or like a round ball, upon one part of which is a prominence like a woman's nipple, this protrusion being the highest and nearest the sky." On the nipple of this breast, the point of earth closest to heaven, would be found the desired garden, "where," he said, "I believe in my soul that the earthly paradise is situated. . . ." Unfortunately we do not know how the sovereigns reacted to this contribution to knowledge. Others like Gerónimo de Mendieta, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and Amerigo Vespucci while more skeptical than Columbus, agreed that somewhere on the shores of the Caribbean the seat of the terrestrial paradise would be found.⁵³

For those like Columbus,⁵⁴ to whom the east was a place while the west was mere direction, the New World could not assume independent importance. For this mentality, long active, the New World was an obstacle to westward progress toward the east. The search for a southwest or northwest passage occupied men's attention for over four hundred years. One of the earliest was Hernán Cortés who, in his third letter to Charles V, had made more precise the lure of the eastern ocean that lay to the west: "Most of all do I exult in the tidings lately brought me of the Great Ocean; for in it . . . are scattered innumerable isles teeming with gold and pearls, abounding in precious stones, as well as in spices, and where . . . many wonderful secrets and admirable things may be discovered."⁵⁵ As more exact knowledge of the Atlantic was gathered, that ocean was demythologized by the Catholic nations, while the South Sea, or Pacific, was invested with all the romance earlier lavished on the Atlantic. While the Atlantic

⁵³ *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus*, tr. R. H. Major (London, 1847), 130, 136-37; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (Boston, 1942), 556-58; Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*, 66; cf. Babcock, *Legendary Islands*, 188; George E. Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (New York, 1924), 31-90; Edmundo O'Gorman, *La invención de América* (México, D.F., 1958), 29-76, 119-20. A recent newspaper article announced that "Satellite Confirms Earth is Like Pear," *New York Herald Tribune*, European ed., June 22, 1960, 1.

⁵⁴ Cf. Vignaud, *Columbian Tradition*, 47: ". . . the object of the enterprise was not to reach the East by way of the West, but to carry out the contract made with their Catholic Majesties for the discovery of an island the existence of which Columbus declared that he knew, an island which is not named, but which in all likelihood was Antilia."

⁵⁵ *The Fifth Letter of Hernan Cortés to the Emperor Charles V*, tr. Don Pascual de Gayangos (London, 1868), viii, 151-52; E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography* (London, 1930), 97-99, 130; Howard Mumford Jones, "The Colonial Impulse," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XC (May 1946), 145.

continued to excite some, others who turned west to face east sought that elusive passage that would bring the wealth of Cipango and the ease of Eden within the reach of sail.

In his conception of Eden, Columbus also referred to a fountain that was the source of the four principal rivers of the world.⁵⁶ Nowhere in the Bible is this fountain mentioned, and again Columbus was showing that the distinctions between theology, legend, and fact were blurred in his mind. But he was a creature of time, and his conceptions, with the possible exception of the cosmic breast, were common property of men of some education. This fountain of paradise belonged, along with Brendan's islands, to a literary tradition, one whose impact was even greater on Juan Ponce de León.⁵⁷

The fountain of youth seems to have first appeared in the forged twelfth-century *Letter of Prester John*, in which a lush land, richer, more Christian, and more powerful than all of Europe was described, along with the magical water which, in one version, was said to be "full of the grace of the holy goost.and who so we in this same water wasshed his body he shall become yonge of.xxx.yere." The fountain, according to other editions of the *Letter*, was to be found on an island, at the eastern edge of the world.⁵⁸ As the cartographers began to dot the Atlantic with many islands heavy with Edenic association, it was an easy step for one engaged in the real business of exploration to assume that on one of these islands the magic fountain might be found, and the farther west (east) the better. Thus Ponce's party searched for the fountain on Bimini Isle in an archipelago supposedly at the easternmost rim of Asia. Columbus had said nothing of the rejuvenating qualities of his fountain, but in 1514 Peter Martyr, the first historian of the New World and a messenger of the Renaissance from Italy to Spain, wrote that to the west "is an island . . . [which] is celebrated for a spring whose waters restore youth to old men." Martyr himself rejected the story because it violated his theology, but reported that the story of Ponce's exploits had made "such an impression that the entire populace, and even people superior by birth and influence, accepted it as a proven fact."⁵⁹ In the patent of 1514,

⁵⁶ *Select Letters of Columbus*, 135.

⁵⁷ Olschki, Ponce de León," 380.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 365, 370-72, 380; Patch, "Mediaeval Descriptions," 619-23; Wright, *Geographical Lore*, 285; E. D. Ross, "Prester John and the Empire of Ethiopia," in *Travel*, ed. Newton, 176; Eden, *First Three English Books*, xxxiv, 339; Richard Hennig, *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Berlin, 1950), 226-37.

⁵⁹ Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, tr. F. A. MacNutt (2 vols., New York, 1912), I, 274; cf. Gómara in Eden, *First Three English Books*, 345; O'Gorman, *La invención de América*, 37-38, 111, n. 34-35, 115, n. 49. The concern with the fabulous, and its impact on the Spanish, is discussed in Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 11 ff.

Ponce was authorized to colonize the tantalizing Bimini, whose name was to continue to awaken "Dreams of youth, with youth that perished."⁶⁰

The imagination of the age was ablaze with the marvels to be found to the west. Columbus and Ponce were not unique. Virtually nothing was too much to imagine in the place where God had planted His garden. There was agreement not only about the reality of the garden, but its general equatorial location. A man of God who had accompanied Sir Francis Drake described their voyage into the area:

being now entered into torrida Zona that is the burning Zone we found the vaine guesses & imagined conjectures to be vntrue & false concerning the same & the surmised opinion of the antient & great philosophers to be contrary to appearance & experience. & indeed to Reason: for wheras Aristotill Pithagoras Thales & many others both Greekes and Latins haue taught that Torrida Zona was not habitable . . . we proued the same to bee altogether false & the same Zone to be the Earthly paradise in the world both at sea & lande yea the increase of things & the Excellency of all Gods creatures in that Zone is 7 degrees aboue all other parts in the Earth. . . .⁶¹

Contact with the Indians of South America probably introduced the exploring white men to at least some of the myths of the various tribes. Some of these myths may have helped to reinforce the idea of the west in the minds of the Europeans, as the Indians repeatedly told the white men that what they were looking for could be found further west. One of these tribes, the Guarayú, migrated from Paraguay in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to raid the Inca Empire, settling finally in the vicinity of the cordillera, where they were encountered by Jesuits in the sixteenth century and by Spaniards exploring Bolivia in the seventeenth. The eschatology of this tribe is a good example of the west of eternity:

Soon after burial, the soul starts a long dangerous journey to the land of Tamoi, which is located in the west. The soul is ferried across a river on the back of a caiman, jumps on a tree trunk . . . , passes by the Grandfather of the worms. . . . Before reaching the abode of Tamoi, the soul must endure the ordeal of being tickled by a monkey without laughing, must walk past a magic tree without heeding the voices issuing from it, and must look at colored grasses without being blinded by them. After all of these ordeals, the soul is received by Tamoi, who washes it and restores its youth and good looks.

Another tribe living in the same general area was the Yuracare, who did not make contact with the invading Europeans until the seventeenth century, but

⁶⁰ Heinrich Heine, "Bimini," tr. Margaret Armour, *Works*, gen. tr. C. G. Leland (16 vols., New York, 1906), XII, 188.

⁶¹ Francis Fletcher, *The First Part of the Second Voyage about the World Attempted Continued and Happily Accomplished . . . by Mr. Francis Drake*, in Sir Francis Drake, *The World Encompassed* (London, 1926), 102; cf. Munster in Eden, *First Three English Books*, 41.

whose creation and judgment myth suggested again that eternity was to be found in the west:

Tiri [the son of the first parents of the world, and creator of most of the world] decided to retire [after his creations] to the end of the world. In order to know its extent, he sent a bird to the four directions of the horizon. On the fourth trip, from the west, the bird returned with beautiful new plumage. Tiri went to the west, where he lives with his people who, upon reaching old age, rejuvenate.⁶²

Because most of the Elizabethans thought of the west imperially, as a place as well as a direction, they could dismiss much of the fabulous which was accepted by those in search of Eden. But the Elizabethans made their own contribution to the idea of the west. As early as about 1519, an English versifier of the imperial west, and brother-in-law of Thomas More, found it intolerable that England had missed the chance at the wealth of the southern New World. And it was the fault of Englishmen without vision, without a grasp of the imperial west, the fault of Englishmen

Which wold take no paine to saile farther
Than their owne lyst and pleasure.

Because the early explorers had put person above nation, England, in the age before her navy and her God had defeated the Armada, could only dream of what might have been:

O what thyng a had be than
Yf that they that be englyshe men
Myght haue ben the furst of all
That there shulde haue take possessyon
And made furst buyldyng and habytacion
A memory perpetuall
And also what an honorable thyng
Both to the realme and to the kynge
To haue had his domynyon extendyng
There into so farre a grounde.⁶³

⁶² Alfred Métraux, "Tribes of Eastern Bolivia," United States Bureau of American Ethnology, *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. J. H. Seward (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1948), III, 430, 437; Métraux, "Tribes of the Eastern Slopes of the Bolivian Andes," *ibid.*, 485, 503. Other South American tribes, especially the dominant Guaraní, looked for salvation in the east; Métraux argued that this was inspired by contact with Christianity. "The Guaraní," *ibid.*, 69, 93-94; Hartley B. Alexander, *Latin American Mythology*, in *Mythology*, ed. Gray, XI, 240, 315. Marshallese folklore also invests the god in the west with the power to create life: William H. Davenport, "Marshallese Folklore Types," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXVI (July-Sept. 1953), 221-22. In Hawaiian mythology, the god of the east represents masculine reproductive power; the god of the west, Hina, "is the expression of female fecundity and the power of growth and production." Martha Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (New Haven, Conn., 1940), 12-13, cf. 79. Several of the Indian tribes of North America similarly had their gods live in the west. Stith Thompson, *Tales of the North American Indians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), 274, n. 11; cf. Pascual de Andagoya, *Pedrarías Davila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro*, tr. C. R. Markham (London, 1865), 14-15, 67.

⁶³ Eden, *First Three English Books*, xx-xxi, cf. 6; A. L. Rowse, *The Elizabethans and America* (London, 1959), 3.

Regret was to become exultation when it was realized that it was not yet too late even though Pope Alexander VI had already divided the undiscovered world between Spain and Portugal, that even the Englishman could sail for his king.

The sea itself, as Columbus had earlier suggested,⁶⁴ presumably moved from "east to west continually." One result of Sir Martin Frobisher's voyages was the conclusion that "... water being an inferior element, must needs be governed after the superior Heaven, and so to follow the course of *Primum mobile* from east to west."⁶⁵ For Henry Hudson, still seeking the east by way of the west, in search of the Northwest Passage, the west wind was, he wrote in 1607, "the meane of our deliverance," an uncommon wind sent specially by God.⁶⁶ The conspiracy of sea and wind led this generation westward, whether for the greater glory of England, or the pay of Holland, whether to explore or settle this new land, or to find a waterway through the New World.

Of Elizabethan thought none perhaps is as illustrative as Sir Walter Raleigh's, whose wife rightly feared her husband's destiny in the west and secretly asked a friend to "rather draw Sir Walter towards the East, than help him forward toward the sunset. . . ."⁶⁷ In his *History of the World*, Raleigh denied Geoffrey's tale of the Trojan origin of Britain, though he knew that "the British language hath remained among us above 2000 years. . . ."⁶⁸ Rejecting Geoffrey's Brutus, he retained Geoffrey's idea of imperial England. He could not treat the "mighty, rich, and beautiful empire of *Guiana*, and . . . that great and golden city which the Spaniards call El Dorado," with exactly equal skepticism, but even here his eye for the practical rather than the romantic seldom failed. "*Guiana* is a country that hath yet her maidenhead, never sacked, turned, nor wrought. . . ."⁶⁹ Thus, for Raleigh, the lands to the west were divested of magic and invested with the main chance. Here were undreamed of riches, unlimited fertility, and the mine which imperial England should exploit in the interest of both her glory and her power. The preacher-geographer, Richard Hakluyt, who influenced and was influenced

⁶⁴ "I hold it for certain, that the waters of the sea move from east to west with the sky. . . ." *Select Letters of Columbus*, 138.

⁶⁵ George Best, *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (London, 1867), 244. It was on the voyage of 1578 that the *Busse* of Bridgewater reported the discovery of perhaps the last of the fabulous islands of the Atlantic. Named in honor of the ship which "sayled three dayes alongst the coast," Busse Island was vainly sought by others, including, for example, Henry Hudson in 1609, who "could not find it." *Ibid.*, 280; *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, ed. G. M. Asher (London, 1860), 49.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 19; cf. "Voyage of John de Verazzano along the Coast of North America," tr. J. G. Cogswell, *ibid.*, 224.

⁶⁷ Willard M. Wallace, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Princeton, N. J., 1959), 110.

⁶⁸ Sir Walter Raleigh, *History of the World* (11th ed., 2 vols., London, 1736), I, 81, 260.

⁶⁹ *Id.*, *The Discovery of Guiana* (New York, 1910), 313, 391.

by Raleigh, similarly took the business approach to exploration, hardly troubling himself with the romance of the west. He was concerned with the use of the material abundance of the west for the strengthening of England, with the state of the economy at home, and with the fact that Spain had power and riches he thought England should have.⁷⁰

Unable to divorce theology and religion from ideas about exploration, the Catholic nations could make little use of the essentially secular west of empire. But the west for these Elizabethans was primarily a device utilized to maintain and strengthen the view of England held by Geoffrey and Shakespeare. In demythologizing the west they hoped to remythologize England as the most recent and—hopefully—final repository of empire. The lands to the west of the civilized west should be squeezed dry of the juices healthful to “this earth of majesty.” Because civilization is anterior to empire, the primitive west, so long as it remained primitive, was no threat to the Renaissance mythology of England. Occupying the westernmost reaches of civilization, England could wear the cloak of Troy with grace; to the west of the European west could be found the raw stuff necessary to reinforce and beautify that cloak.⁷¹

Another of these Englishmen was the vicarious traveler and the intellectual heir of Hakluyt, Parson Samuel Purchas, whose work was devoured by James I and lingered on to inspire later English poets.⁷² Because of his commitment to Geoffrey’s notion that empire had moved to England, where it would stay, Purchas rejected the other ideas of the west, the wests of happiness and eternity. He rejected Plato’s Atlantis, Plutarch’s report of voyages, and asserted that the Roman Island of the Blest was simply one of the Canaries or some other quite normal island. Purchas dismissed Columbus’ notion that he had been close to the Ophir of King Solomon, though Purchas was convinced of the existence of Ophir in India (where it had been located by some cartographers⁷³). Purchas, however, began to suggest what was eventually to become the English contribution to the idea of the west. Medieval romances and legendary islands made little impression on his thinking,

⁷⁰ Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse on Western Planting*, ed. Charles Deane (Cambridge, Mass., 1877), *passim*; cf. Jones, “Colonial Impulse,” 139–46.

⁷¹ Wallace, *Raleigh*, 36–37, 58, 109–10, 119, 298; Ernest A. Strathmann, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (New York, 1951), 251–52; Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America*, ed. J. W. Jones (London, 1850), xvi; E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography* (London, 1934), 4; Rowse, *Elizabethans and America*, 16, 31–32, 191; cf. Best, *Three Voyages of Frobisher*, 5–7; Robert G. Cleland, “Westward the Course of Empire,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, VII (Aug. 1944), 4–6, suggests that the westward urge was peculiarly Anglo-Saxon, and that their westward expansion began with the fifth-century invasion, and “the conquest of North America by English-speaking peoples is merely the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Britain transferred to another and much vaster theater.”

⁷² Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, 56.

⁷³ Wright, *Geographical Lore*, 275; Hennig, *Wo lag das Paradies?* 69–71.

but theology grew in stature. "I speak," he said, "not in Poeticall fiction, or Hyperbolicall phrase, but Christian sincerity." For the sake of Christendom, God had withheld the knowledge necessary to navigation from "the Persian, the Mogoll, the Abassine, the Chinois, the Tartarian, the Turke." Probably remembering Malachi 4:2, he concluded that "thus hath God given opportunitie by Navigation into all parts, that in the Sun-set and Evening of the World, the Sunne of righteousness might arise out of our West to Illuminate the East. . . ."⁷⁴ While this sun rose in the west, the world would be at its evening and the kingdom of the apocalypse would be near. Turning from the concept of a lost golden age or Eden, Purchas looked forward to the time when the city of God would exist on earth, the earth of the western New World. The millennium would see Christ walking from the west.

It remained for Edward Hayes, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's rear admiral, to complete the Anglicization of the idea of the west. Arguing that England had a good claim to America, north of Florida, by virtue of John Cabot's discoveries, Hayes adduced also God's consent to English ambitions. Christianization of the heathen was noble work, and the French and Spanish agreed. France and Spain, however, would ensnarl the witless Indian in the net of Rome, so that only England could truly serve God's purpose. It would be folly for the Catholic nations to attempt to impede the progress of England, for her victory was as inevitable as the fact that true religion moved from east to west:

God's word and religion . . . from the beginning hath moved from the east towards, and at last unto, the west, where it is like to end, unless the same begin again where it did in the east, which were to expect a like world again. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophecy of *Christ*, whereby we gather that after His word preached throughout the world shall be the end.⁷⁵

There could not be a new beginning for, agreeing with Purchas, Hayes's thinking moved forward to the apocalypse, not backward to Eden. In his eschatology, the creation of English America was the final step necessary to the millennium.⁷⁶ When the word of Christ had been heard everywhere, the day of doom would follow. After America, judgment.

⁷⁴ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), in *Hakluytus Posthumus* (20 vols., Glasgow, 1905-1907), I, 52-53, 66-67, 74, 87, 164, 173, 207, 251; Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, 114-15; cf. Hay, *Europe*, 120-22.

⁷⁵ Edward Hayes, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Voyage to Newfoundland* (New York, 1910), 274-75.

⁷⁶ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (2 vols., Hartford, Conn., 1820), I, 302. See also Charles L. Sanford, "An American Pilgrim's Progress," *American Quarterly*, VI (Winter 1954), 298-302; Sidney Lee, "The Call of the West," *Scribner's Magazine*, XLI (June 1907), 677-79; Michael Kraus, "America and the Utopian Ideal in the Eighteenth Century," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (Mar. 1936), 487-504.

With the settlers in English America several strands of the idea of the west were pulled together. Some still searched for Eden or Ophir; more thought with Raleigh and Hakluyt that the west meant economic opportunity for themselves and for England. But the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay occupied what they believed was God's country, that western land where, they said, His word would be obeyed. In no other nation on earth did God walk. These Puritans were merely following the Lord's instructions when they sailed, not merely westward, but *to the west*, from England:

It is true, that from the first planting of Religion among men, it hath alwayes held a constant way from East to West, and hath, in that Line, proceeded so farre, that it hath extended to the uttermost Western bounds of the formerly knowne world. . . . And they conceive withall, that our Saviours Prophecie, *Matth. 24.27.* points out such a progresse of the Gospell. It is true, that the comparison there used taken from the Lightning, aymes at the sudden dispersing of the knowledge of Christ by the Apostles ministry: but whereas wee know, the Lightning shines from divers parts of the heaven, shewing it selfe indifferently, sometimes in the West, sometimes in the North, or South; why doth our Saviour . . . choose to name the Lightning that shines out of the East into the West, unlesse it be to expresse not only the sudden shining out of the Gospell; but withall the way, and passage, by which it proceedes from one end of the world to the other, that is, from East to West?⁷⁷

It was not merely the true Word that must move westward. Of all the world's nations, wrote Samuel Sewall in 1713, America was best suited for the "Government of Christ" precisely because it was "*the Beginning of the East, and the End of the West,*" for which reason, he supposed, Columbus had pronounced the continent "*Alpha and Omega.*" It was the last new world because it was at the western extremity, and "if the *Last ADAM* did give Order for the engraving of his own Name upon this *last Earth*: 'twill draw with it great Consequences; even such as will, in time, bring the poor *Americans* out of their Graves, and make them live." Because of its western and therefore holy location the new nation was destined, by the inevitable course of affairs, for a future bathed in divine glory: "May it not with more, or equal strength be argued, *New-Jerusalem* is not the same with *Jerusalem*: but as *Jerusalem* was to the westward of *Babylon*; so *New-Jerusalem* must be to the westward of *Rome*; to avoid disturbance in the Order of these Mysteries."⁷⁸ The city of God had had many capitals, and as each failed, the new emerged to the west. Now, at the last western point, the new capital was

⁷⁷ John White, *The Planters Plea* (London, 1630), reprinted in *Tracts and Other Papers*, ed. Peter Force (4 vols., Washington, D. C., 1838-46), II, 7.

⁷⁸ Samuel Sewall, *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica ad Aspectum Novi Orbis Configurata* (Boston, 1713), 2-3, 31.

established and because there was no west left, it was man's last chance. Mankind's prayer for salvation thus depended upon the success of the most western and most holy commonwealth.⁷⁹

It was the most inclusive mind of colonial America whose conception of the cosmic significance of the New World was partly determined by the idea that God faced west. Jonathan Edwards, synthesizing the earlier ideas of Purchas, Hayes, and John White, wrote that:

when the Sun of Righteousness, the Sun of the new heavens and new earth, comes to rise . . . , the sun shall *rise in the west*, contrary to the course of this world, or the course of things in the old heavens and earth. . . . The Sun of Righteousness has long been going down from east to west; and probably when the time comes of the church's deliverance from her enemies . . . the light will rise in the west, until it shines through the world like the sun in its meridian brightness.⁸⁰

Rising out of New England the real sun and the sun of righteousness would light and warm the saints throughout the world. Through the past, nature had been preparing for this great reversal, which would signify the greater reversal in man's depraved nature. It can be suggested that the usual course of the sun was itself an aberration, marking man's own fall from grace. Both nature and human nature would be corrected when God led men far enough to the west.

Thus, as the west once more became a place, as it had been for Horace and Bran, and a direction, as it had been for Virgil and Columbus, America, in the minds of the Puritans, became the best and last refuge for Christ. Standing on what was thought of as the westernmost part of the round earth, it was inevitable, according to this Puritan mentality, that it should be so. All that was necessary now was to revive the still older idea of the course of empire, couple it with the course of Christ, and America would have her ideology of might and right. As seventeenth-century Americans had Christianized the idea of the west by relating it to the kingdom of God, eighteenth-century Americans secularized it by recalling the west of empire.

The imperial idea of the west became one basis of the hope that America would one day be great in power. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, Bishop George Berkeley, employing the same kind of argument that Virgil and Geoffrey had used, applied the imperial west to America:

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first Acts already past,

⁷⁹ Samuel Stillman, *An Oration Delivered July 4th, 1789* (Boston, 1789), 29.

⁸⁰ Jonathan Edwards, *Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England, 1740* (New York, n.d.), 196-97.

A fifth shall close the Drama with the Day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.⁸¹

Joel Barlow, the poet of republican virtue, who also identified the apocalypse and America, agreed by writing:

Earth's blood-stain'd empires, with their Guide the Sun
From Orient climes their gradual progress run;
And circling far, reach every western shore,
'Til earth-born empires rise and fall no more.⁸²

Just past mid-century, Nathaniel Ames, of almanac fame, took a less political view: "the Progress of Humane Literature (like the Sun) is from the East to the West; thus has it travelled thro' *Asia* and *Europe*, and now is arrived at the Eastern Shore of *America* . . .," and Benjamin Franklin agreed.⁸³ By 1775, John Witherspoon, preaching at Princeton, could combine every one of these ideas when he articulated what was to become the usual American formula—"some have observed that true religion, and in her train, dominion, riches, literature, and art, have taken their course in a slow and gradual manner, from East to West, since the earth was settled after the flood: and from thence forebode the future glory of America."⁸⁴ The secular and sacred ideas of the west were thus brought back together, where they stayed throughout the nineteenth century in the United States, appearing in most marked fashion in the concept of manifest destiny. Remembering Seneca's prophecy, Edward Everett said that with the United States it had finally come true.⁸⁵

⁸¹ George Berkeley, *Works*, ed. A. C. Fraser (3 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1871), III, 232. One curious use of Geoffrey's tale of Brutus was made by the incorrigible Thomas Morton of Merry-mount in 1629; he argued "that the originall of the Natives of New England may be well conjectured to be from the scattered Trojans, after such time as Brutus departed from Latium." Because these Indians were Trojans it was necessary for Morton to explain the color of their skin: "Their infants are borne with . . . complexion white as our nation, but their mothers in their infancy make a bath of Walnut leaves . . . and such things as will staine their skinne for ever, wherein they dip and washe them to make them tawny. . . ." Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (n.p., 1632), 16-18, 24, 39-40; cf. Sidney Lee, "The Call of the West," *Scribner's Magazine*, XLII (Sept. 1907), 313.

⁸² Leon Howard, *The Connecticut Wits* (Chicago, 1943), 136; cf. Philip Freneau, *Poems*, ed. F. L. Pattee (8 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1902-1907), I, 82. The idea also continued to inspire English poets, e.g., Percy B. Shelley, "Hellas," *Works*, ed. H. B. Forman (8 vols., London, 1876-80), III, 50; William Blake, "America," *The Poems and Prophecies of William Blake*, ed. Max Plowman (London, n.d.), 64; David V. Erdman, *Blake* (Princeton, N. J., 1954), 353.

⁸³ Sam Briggs, *The Essays, Humor, and Poems of Nathaniel Ames* (Cleveland, 1891), 285-86; Benjamin Franklin, *Writings*, ed. A. H. Smyth (10 vols., New York, 1905-1907), IV, 194; cf. Thomas Paine, *Life and Works*, ed. W. M. Van der Weyde (9 vols., New Rochelle, N. Y., 1925), VI, 236; John Adams, *Works*, ed. C. F. Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1855-56), IX, 597, 599-600.

⁸⁴ Rutherford E. Delmage, "The American Idea of Progress," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCI (Oct. 1947), 310; cf. Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America*, ed. John Pinkerton (London, 1812), 750; L'Abbé F. Galiani, *Correspondance*, ed. C. C. Levy (2 vols., Paris, 1889), II, 553; John Galt, *The Life, Studies, and Works of Benjamin West* (London, 1820), 114-17.

⁸⁵ "There are no more continents to be reached; Atlantis hath arisen from the ocean . . . ; there are no more retreats beyond the sea, no more discoveries, no more hopes." Edward Everett, *Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions* (7th ed., 3 vols., Boston, 1865), I, 42.

Appropriately enough, it was Henry David Thoreau who personified the American mythology of the west. The west meant freedom: "Eastward I go only by force; but westward I go free." It was the way of the race: "I must walk toward Oregon, and not toward Europe. And that way the nation is moving, and I may say that mankind progresses from east to west." To the east lay history, while westward was the apocalypse, the future, and "adventure." That he involuntarily consented "in his pettiest walk with the general movement of the race," indicated to him that the west excited deep in his consciousness an irresistible urge: "Every sunset which I witness inspires me with the desire to go to a West as distant and as fair as that into which the sun goes down." Feeling this he could understand "the foundation of all those fables" of the west from the report of Atlantis to his own day. But, as an American, his song of the west was tied to the nation; only in America did the west exist, else "why was America discovered?" Clearly, to give men their chance, the last the race would have, to be born again, and to give the nation its chance too. "To Americans," he said, "I hardly need to say,—'Westward the star of empire takes its way.'"⁸⁶ In his own person, Thoreau, as American,⁸⁷ combined the west of happiness and eternity, the west of millennium, and that of empire, the west of direction, and the west of place. He could not do more.

As the continent began to fill up, the American West, like Brendan's islands, seemed to disappear as one got closer. From Thomas Jefferson through Frederick Jackson Turner, the American West faded from the Atlantic shore. An American artist saw the problem: "Few people even know the true definition of the term 'West'; and where is its location?—phantom-like it flies before us as we travel. . . ."⁸⁸ But before the hopeful west flew from America, it had meant salvation for the nation and identity for those who partook of its magic.

For so long then did men turn westward with their cravings and aspirations. And beyond the golden gate of the western world the east began, so that the New World, and finally the United States, was thought of by some as the last refuge for man and God, that western world where woe and wail would be no more. A later poet, himself in this tradition, believed that America had been

⁸⁶ Henry David Thoreau, *Excursions* (Riverside ed., 11 vols., Boston, 1894-95), IX, 266-73.

⁸⁷ Wyndham Lewis, *America and Cosmic Man* (New York, 1949), 26-27. Suggestions about the application of a more or less undifferentiated west are in John M. Anderson, *The Individual and the New World* (State College, Pa., 1955), 15-38; Arthur K. Moore, *The Frontier Mind* (Lexington, Ky., 1957), 1-24; Sanford, "An American," 297-302.

⁸⁸ George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1859), 110.

Foreseen in the vision of sages,
Foretold when martyrs bled,
She was born of the longing of ages. . . .⁸⁹

The list of sages was long, stretching at least from Horace to Horace Greeley. In this way men made of Columbia the last of the many gems of the ocean, an apocalyptical land where men could hope to plant their seed and live happily ever after.

⁸⁹ Bayard Taylor, *The National Ode* (Boston, 1877), 39, delivered July 4, 1876. See also Richard Watson Gilder, "The White City," in *Poems of American History*, ed. Burton E. Stevenson (Boston, 1908), 602; William Faulkner, *Mosquitoes* (New York, 1953), 27.

The Norman Conquest and the Genesis of English Feudalism

C. WARREN HOLLISTER*

THE effect of the Norman Conquest upon English military institutions has long been a subject of intense controversy, evoking as it does the more general issue of continuity and catastrophe in history. Did English society weather the crisis of 1066 without substantial change, or was it transformed radically and permanently by the Conquest? Does English history represent a gradual and continual development, or is it the product of a series of revolutions and catastrophes such as the invasions of the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans?

In the controversy that has raged so long and often so bitterly over the effects of the Norman Conquest, certain facts have been conceded by both sides. Even those who support the catastrophic interpretation of the Conquest agree that it had little immediate effect upon English manorial forms,¹ for as Professor J. E. A. Jolliffe writes, "We shall, in fact, misunderstand the course of history if we fail to realize the flow of the broad stream of English custom across the line of the Norman Conquest and into the Middle Ages."² On the other hand, not even the most devout believer in historical continuity could deny that the Norman Conquest brought a new, foreign aristocracy into England which dominated the land and became assimilated only gradually. The question narrows down to the nature of the continental aristocracy which came to England with the Conquest, and the significance of the new institutions which it introduced. More specifically, did the Normans introduce feudalism into England, as a system of aristocratic military service superimposed upon the continuum of peasant society, or did they merely tighten up a feudal system that they found in England when they came?

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¹ David Douglas, "The Norman Conquest and English Feudalism," *Economic History Review*, IX (May 1939), 138; *id.*, *The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia* (Oxford, Eng., 1927), 205 ff.; *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, ed. *id.* (London, 1932), cix-cx, cxvii-cxxxiii; J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England: The Jutes* (Oxford, Eng., 1933); *id.*, *Constitutional History of Medieval England* (New York and London, 1937), 150 ff.; *Danelaw Charters*, ed. F. M. Stenton (London, 1920), lxxix ff., and *passim*; R. R. Darlington, "The Last Phase of Anglo-Saxon History," *History*, new ser., XXII (June 1937), 4-5.

² Jolliffe, *Constitutional History*, 151.

Perhaps the issue can best be appreciated by contrasting the views of two modern scholars on the subject. F. M. Stenton writes, "It is turning a useful term into a mere abstraction to apply the adjective 'feudal' to a society [such as that of pre-Conquest England] which has never adopted the private fortress nor developed the art of fighting on horseback . . .,"³ but G. O. Sayles replies, "To deny the descriptive term of 'feudal' to the changes which had produced the Anglo-Saxon social structure on the ground that it did not fully resemble the social structure in Normandy is begging the question."⁴

This controversy has a long history. As early as the seventeenth century, important scholars such as Henry Spelman and Robert Bruce Cotton were emphasizing the unprecedented nature of post-Conquest feudalism,⁵ while others supported the evolutionary thesis with equal ardor.⁶ Historians debated the issue vigorously and often discourteously, and it was not until well into the nineteenth century that any degree of scholarly unanimity was achieved. The romantic movement with its emphasis on historical continuity and organic national development drove the theory of historical cataclysm into temporary eclipse. The work of Karl Friedrich von Savigny and Johann Gottfried Eichhorn on the Continent was paralleled by that of Sir Francis Palgrave in England who minimized the importance not only of the Norman Conquest of England but of the Danish and Anglo-Saxon conquests as well.⁷ With impressive erudition, Palgrave argued that the effect of the Roman occupation was fundamental to English history and that later conquests, particularly those of the Danes and the Normans, were comparatively unimportant. The effect of these views on the later controversy between Frederic Seebohm and the Germanists over the effect of the Anglo-Saxon invasions lies beyond the purview of this paper, but Romanists and Germanists were usually in agreement that the effects of the Norman Conquest were not of fundamental significance. Thus, the Germanist Edward Freeman in his

³ F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (Oxford, Eng., 1932), 215.

⁴ G. O. Sayles, *The Medieval Foundations of England* (Philadelphia, 1950), 211. In part the conflict stems from a disagreement as to the meaning of "feudalism." For various meanings attributed to this word, see Marion Gibbs, *Feudal Order* (London, 1949), 1-3, and F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism* (London, 1952), xv-xvii. It does not seem to me that disputes over the meaning of this word are particularly useful in reconstructing the institutional developments of medieval England. For convenience I follow the majority of modern scholars in this field in employing the term to signify an institution based on the holding of a fief, usually a unit of land, in return for a stipulated honorable service, normally military, with a relationship of homage and fealty between the grantee (vassal) and the grantor (lord).

⁵ Henry Spelman, *Reliquiae Spelmannianae*, ed. Edmund Gibson (Oxford, Eng., 1698), 10; Robert Bruce Cotton, *Cottoni Posthuma*, ed. James Howell (London, 1672), 14. I am indebted for these references to David Douglas, *The Norman Conquest and British Historians* (Glasgow, 1946), 27-28. See *id.*, *English Scholars, 1660-1730* (2d ed., London, 1951), 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 119 ff.

⁷ Francis Palgrave, *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* (London, 1832); *id.*, *History of Normandy and England* (4 vols., London, 1851-64).

monumental but much-criticized work on the Norman Conquest argued vigorously in behalf of the notion that the victory of the Normans did not affect in any fundamental way the institutional continuity of England.⁸ Such were also the views of Erwin Nasse, Rudolph Gneist, and, to a lesser degree, Bishop William Stubbs.⁹ It was generally agreed that Norman feudalism had been anticipated in late Anglo-Saxon times and that the Normans did nothing more than regulate and more thoroughly systematize an institution which was already there and which was bound to become increasingly systematic with or without the Normans. There were few protests to this interpretation until the early 1890's when John Horace Round entered the controversy.

Round was a bitter opponent of the gradualist approach. In his great work, *Feudal England*, he insisted that the Norman Conquest was a historical cataclysm—that it resulted in a total reorganization of the English aristocracy and an overturning of the Old English military system.¹⁰ He maintained that there was no connection whatever between the Anglo-Saxon thegn and the Norman knight, and that the knight fee introduced by William the Conqueror was totally unrelated to the five-hide land unit which, according to pre-Conquest custom, was required to produce a warrior for the Anglo-Saxon fyrd.¹¹ Feudalism was introduced full-blown by William the Conqueror. It was in no way anticipated in the Anglo-Saxon age, nor was it the product of gradual evolution during the decades following the Norman Conquest.

Round admitted that knight fees were established only gradually, but asserted that feudalism was nevertheless imposed quite suddenly. He reconciled this seeming contradiction by insisting upon a radical distinction between two separate processes: the royal assessment of knight quotas or *servitia debita* upon the tenants in chief of the crown on the one hand, and, on the other, the more gradual subinfeudation by which the tenants in chief enfeoffed knights to meet their quotas. The establishment of quotas was sud-

⁸ Edward Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England* (6 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1867-79), I, 1-6, V, 334-36, 366 ff., and *passim*. For a recent contribution to the Romanist-Germanist controversy, see T. H. Aston, "The Origins of the Manor in England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., VIII (1958), 59-83.

⁹ Erwin Nasse, *Über die mittelalterlichen Feldgemeinschaft in England* (Bonn, 1869); Rudolph Gneist, *History of the English Constitution* (2 vols., London, 1891), I, 96-98, and *passim*; William Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England* (5th ed., 3 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1891-96), I, 206 ff., 283 ff. Stubbs was cautious, stating that institutional continuity between the Anglo-Saxon thegn and the Anglo-Norman knight was merely probable.

¹⁰ John Horace Round, *Feudal England* (London, 1895), 225-314, chap. entitled "The Introduction of Knight Service into England." Round had expressed these ideas previously in the *English Historical Review*, VI (July 1891), 417-43, VI (Oct. 1891), 625-45, and VII (Jan. 1892), 11-24.

¹¹ Domesday Book, ed. Abraham Furley and Henry Ellis (4 vols., London, 1783-1816), I, 56b, 64b, 100; *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann (3 vols., Halle, 1903-16), I, 457. See F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1947), 575. The belief that the Anglo-Norman knight fee was based on the Anglo-Saxon five-hide unit is expressed by Edward Freeman, among others. See, for example, *Norman Conquest*, V, 866.

den, spectacular, and all-important. The creation of subfees was "a matter of mere secondary importance . . . a mere detail," which the King ignored completely so long as his direct tenants produced the required knights.¹²

Round assembled an impressive body of evidence to the effect that the Conqueror imposed these quotas, at least upon ecclesiastical estates, in about 1070 and that he assessed them on a perfectly arbitrary basis irrespective of area, land value, or prior custom.¹³ Round believed, nevertheless, that there was at least some pattern behind these seemingly heterogeneous *servitia debita*. Determining that they were usually assessed at multiples of five or ten knights, he asserted that the real basis of the royal quotas was the *constabularia* of ten knights which he assumed to be the basic organizational unit of the Norman feudal host. He attempted to demonstrate the existence of these previously unknown ten-knight constabularies by citing a document from Bury St. Edmunds which described the organization of the Bury knights into *constabulariae* of ten men.¹⁴ David Douglas was later to support Round strongly on this point, but Douglas' evidence, too, was from Bury St. Edmunds,¹⁵ and many subsequent historians have questioned the whole *constabularia* thesis on the grounds that the Bury constabularies were seemingly a local phenomenon and furthermore that they probably related to castle-guard duty rather than host service.¹⁶ Thus, the constabulary idea is still controversial, but the notion of arbitrary assessments has been generally accepted.

Turning from the quotas to the problem of subinfeudation, Round maintains that knight fees also represented a new phenomenon, having no connection with the pre-Conquest five-hide land unit and, indeed, no uniformity whatever in their hidation. Knight fees were found to range from two hides

¹² Round, *Feudal England*, 247, 248.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 295 ff., 304, 306-307. For some of Round's evidence, see Domesday Book, ed. Furley and Ellis, 258b-259b and *Abingdon Chronicle*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Rolls Series, No. 2 [hereafter cited RS, 2], 2 vols., London, 1858), II, 3-7, for Domesday references to feudal knights; *ibid.*, II, 3, and *Liber Eliensis*, ed. D. J. Stewart (London, 1848), 274, 276, for evidence of the early establishment of the *servitium debitum*, supported by additional evidence from the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, the *Testa de Nevill (Book of Fees)*, and early charters. The thirteenth-century historian Matthew Paris asserts that the Conqueror imposed the ecclesiastical quotas in 1070 *pro voluntate sua*. *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Francis Madden (RS, 44, 3 vols., London, 1866-69), I, 13, and the early date is confirmed by a royal writ of 1072 ordering the abbot of Evesham to send his *servitium debitum* for duty in the feudal host (Round prints the document in full, *Feudal England*, 304). This writ of summons had long been known (see, for example, Henry Ellis, *General Introduction to Domesday Book* [2 vols., London, 1833], II, 447-48), but Round was the first to grasp its full import.

¹⁴ Round, *Feudal England*, 259.

¹⁵ *Feudal Documents*, ed. Douglas, lxxvi-lxxxviii.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, Nos. 64 and 183, freeing the Bury constabularies from castle-guard at Norwich in order that they might do their ward duty at Bury itself. See also *ibid.*, lxxxviii, and *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*, ed. John Rokewode (London, 1840), 49. Austin Lane Poole questions Round's constabulary theory. *Obligations of Society* (Oxford, Eng., 1946), 49-50. Eric John attacks it vigorously. *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester, 1960), 151-52.

to ten,¹⁷ and the existence of many five-hide fees he attributes to the survival of five-hide estates from the previous regime on which the new knights happened to be settled. The knight fee was just as novel as the establishment of royal quotas, and together they represented a revolution of crucial importance in English military history.

The theory of knight service was merely one of many great contributions to historical knowledge from Round's scholarly and catholic mind. He was an imaginative theorist and at the same time a brilliant technician. His one fault was a certain impatience with those who disagreed with him. In one matter or another he was at odds with most of the important historians of his day, and they found him a ruthless antagonist. Naturally, Edward Freeman was the object of much of Round's scorn. Glancing at the index to Round's *Feudal England*, one finds under the topic of "Freeman, Professor," such subtopics as these: "His contemptuous criticism [five page references]," "underrates feudal influence," "influenced by words and names," "his bias," "confuses individuals," "his pedantry," "misconstrues his Latin," "imagines facts," "his supposed accuracy [seven references]," "his guesses [eleven references]," "his confused views," "evades difficulties," "misunderstands tactics," "his failure," etc.¹⁸ On T. A. Archer, Round writes, "I will not say of Mr. Archer, 'his attack must be held to have failed,' for that would imperfectly express its complete collapse."¹⁹ On a work of Professor Thomas Tout: It is "as worthless as it is misleading";²⁰ on Hubert Hall's monumental edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer*: Hall's confusion "passes human comprehension." His work is "characteristically hopeless," "utterly reckless," "wantonly wrong-headed," and "a mist of vague verbiage." "The only doubt that remains in one's mind," Round writes, "is whether to describe such editing as this as a farce or a burlesque."²¹ One is reminded of the comment of Polybius, that each successive historian "makes such a parade of minute accuracy, and

¹⁷ Round, *Feudal England*, 293-95. Austin Lane Poole finds a fee of twenty-seven hides. *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1955), 15; *Curia Regis Rolls* (10 vols., London, 1922-52), II, 53.

¹⁸ Round, *Feudal England*, 580-81. These are excerpts from the numerous subtopics under "Freeman." Of the remainder, many are hostile, some are noncommittal, and two are actually favorable: "his splendid narrative," "his Homeric power." Round conceded that Freeman was a gifted stylist, but denied that he was a competent historian.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 393.

²⁰ Round, *Studies on the Red Book of the Exchequer* ([London,] 1898), 58.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 11, 16, 33, 34, 35. Hostility toward Hubert Hall runs through almost all of Round's later work, for example, *The King's Serjeants* (London, 1911), ix ff.; *The Commune of London* (Westminster, 1899), 67 ff., 262 ff., 312-13, etc. Round was also sharply critical of Charles Oman (*ibid.*, 39-61; *King's Serjeants*, 33-34), Kate Norgate (*Feudal England*, 274 ff., and *passim*), and others. See *English Historical Review*, IX (Jan., Apr., July 1894), 1-76, 209-60, 602-11, for a bitter debate between Round, Archer, and Miss Norgate over the merits of Edward Freeman. Round was much more tolerant of Stubbs: "... if my researches have compelled me to differ from an authority so supreme as Dr. Stubbs, this in no way impugns the soundness of his judgment on the data hitherto known." *Feudal England*, 314.

inveighs so bitterly when refuting others, that people come to imagine that all other historians have been mere dreamers."²²

Round's iconoclasm might be thought to have aroused such antagonisms that his theories would not be well received, and, indeed, scholars of his own generation were slow to accept them. Frederic Maitland and Paul Vinogradoff each produced major works subsequent to the appearance of Round's *Feudal England* in which they took sharp issue with his theory of knight service and stressed the continuity between the Anglo-Saxon thegn and the Anglo-Norman knight.²³ They emphasized the identity revealed in Domesday and in other early surveys between many pre-Conquest thegn holdings and post-Conquest knight fees. Maitland called attention to the great series of quasi-military tenancies granted to pre-Conquest freemen by the bishops of Worcester and other Anglo-Saxon lords for a period of lives in return for certain services. Paul Guilhiermoz went so far as to suggest that the Frankish military fief was based on Anglo-Saxon thegnage and that it developed as a result of English influence on the Continent during the eighth century, a curious inversion of Round's hypothesis.²⁴

Before one could accept the theory of the Norman origin of English feudalism it was necessary to investigate more thoroughly the feudal structure of Normandy. This work was performed by the American scholar Charles Homer Haskins.²⁵ Haskins was obliged to concentrate on post-Conquest Normandy for the most part, because of the paucity of Norman sources from the earlier period,²⁶ but for the era of William the Conqueror and his sons he was able to construct a coherent picture. Normandy, he declared, was one of the most fully developed feudal societies in Europe.²⁷ Haskins was impressed by the similarities between English and Norman feudalism and was led to accept Round's thesis that English knight service was of Norman origin.²⁸

Scholars of the next generation were able to look back upon the bitter controversies of the past with detachment. For them, the violent recriminations with which Round assailed his enemies were almost forgotten, but the power

²² Quoted in H. J. Muller, *Uses of the Past* (New York, 1953), 31.

²³ Frederic William Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, Eng., 1897), 152 ff.; Paul Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford, Eng., 1908), 39-89.

²⁴ Paul Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France* (Paris, 1902), 86 ff., and *passim*.

²⁵ Charles Homer Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5. Although Norman feudalism was not so tightly organized as that of Anglo-Norman England, it was orderly indeed compared to the chaotic feudalism of Anjou, Aquitaine, or the Île de France (*ibid.*, 60). Yet the knight quotas of the Norman tenants in chief were much lighter than those which the Conqueror imposed upon his barons in England. *Ibid.*, 8-9; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 550.

²⁸ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 8, 18, and *passim*. But see Eric John's criticism of these conclusions. *Land Tenure*, 152.

of his intellect was not. Indeed, virtually all of the students of Norman England in the 1920's and thereafter were advocates of the Round thesis. The most important book published on the subject in that generation carries Round's thesis in its title: *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166*.²⁹ The author, F. M. Stenton, devotes most of his introduction to a sympathetic evaluation of Round's contributions,³⁰ and in a later work Stenton asserts that "In any scheme of social relationships to which the word feudal can profitably be applied the tenant's service was specialized and defined exactly." Stenton observes that pre-Conquest leasehold tenure was unlike this and that the Anglo-Saxon thegns "were not in any sense the predecessors of the feudal knights. . . . After a generation of research Round's theory has been confirmed at every point."³¹

Most of Stenton's contemporaries and successors would agree. Among the supporters of the Round thesis are George Burton Adams,³² Helena M. Chew,³³ R. R. Darlington,³⁴ Sidney Painter,³⁵ Ferdinand Lot,³⁶ and Carl Stephenson.³⁷ Jolliffe attributes what he terms "a radical break in history" to the fact that dependent tenure was nonexistent in pre-Conquest England: "The Saxon's right was, in short, not tenure but property," and therefore, "because the English had not the fee, they also had not feudalism." Jolliffe denies that the Anglo-Saxon land loans for a period of several lives, emphasized by Maitland, represented any real evolution toward feudalism since up to 1066 these loans showed no sign of becoming hereditary.³⁸ Douglas concludes that "Anglo-Norman studies are to-day dominated by a lively consciousness of the cataclysm which marked the genesis of English feudalism,

²⁹ See n. 3. For an early recognition of the impact of Round's thesis upon the older gradualist views, see Charles Petit-Dutaillis and Georges Lefebvre, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History Down to the Great Charter*, tr. W. E. Rhodes (3 vols., Manchester, 1908-29), I, 58-66.

³⁰ Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 1-6. See also *ibid.*, 122.

³¹ *Id.*, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 672, 673.

³² George Burton Adams, "Anglo-Saxon Feudalism," *American Historical Review*, VII (Oct. 1901), 34, for a concise summary of his views on the subject which can be found scattered throughout his writings.

³³ Helena M. Chew, *The English Ecclesiastical Tenants-in-Chief and Knight Service* (London, 1932), 2. Miss Chew declares that Round's thesis on knight service is "now generally accepted."

³⁴ Darlington, "Last Phase of Anglo-Saxon History," 1. Darlington denies that pre-Conquest England had "anything that can be called organized feudalism." See also *ibid.*, 3. From the standpoint of feudalism, the Norman Conquest "constitutes one of the most sudden and far-reaching revolutions that this island has witnessed."

³⁵ For example, Sidney Painter, *The Rise of the Feudal Monarchies* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1951), 45, and *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943), 14, wherein Painter mentions "the feudalism that had been introduced by the victorious Norman duke."

³⁶ Ferdinand Lot, *L'Art militaire* (2 vols., Paris, 1946), I, 301.

³⁷ Carl Stephenson, "Feudalism and Its Antecedents in England," *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (Jan. 1943), 245-65.

³⁸ Jolliffe, *Constitutional History*, 74, 77, 78, 138.

and the unanimity here achieved by scholars in opposition to the views of their predecessors is . . . remarkable. . . ."³⁹

But recently there have been distinct signs of dissatisfaction with the Round thesis. It can be detected in several recent general accounts of English medieval history. Frank Barlow, for example, entitles his book *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042-1216*,⁴⁰ and G. O. Sayles writes of the theory of the Norman Conquest as historical cataclysm, "Extreme opinions are superficial opinions and, plausible as this explanation of events may appear to be, it dissolves completely when removed from the realm of theory and submitted to the acid test of facts."⁴¹

More specifically, the Round thesis has been challenged by three recent studies. One is an examination by J. O. Prestwich of the importance of mercenary soldiers in the Anglo-Norman period. Basing his investigation primarily on narrative sources, Prestwich demonstrates that a close connection existed between the financial resources of the Norman monarchy and the hiring of stipendiary troops. His conclusions suggest that the profound importance of mercenary soldiers in the Anglo-Norman age had not been sufficiently appreciated by previous scholars and that the new feudal army, even though a Norman innovation, by no means dominated the military history of the post-Conquest era. The army of mercenaries represents a significant military link between Anglo-Saxon and Norman England.⁴²

Another article, by Marjory Hollings, attacks the Round thesis much more directly.⁴³ In short, she reasserts the continuity between the pre-Conquest thegn holding and the knight fee. Concentrating her attention on the estates of the bishopric of Worcester and using as her principal source the lists of knights included in *The Red Book of Worcester*,⁴⁴ she shows not only that there was a direct succession in numerous cases from thegn holdings to knight fees⁴⁵ but also that an impressive number of these Worcester knight fees consisted of five hides. Indeed, she finds a memorandum interpolated in a Worcester survey of 1208 which states, "Four

³⁹ Douglas, "Norman Conquest and English Feudalism," 129.

⁴⁰ Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042-1216* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1955). See 7 ff., 22-23, 107-20, 150-51, etc.

⁴¹ Sayles, *Medieval Foundations of England*, 213. For a lucid summary of Sayles's views on the subject, see *ibid.*, 205-11.

⁴² J. O. Prestwich, "War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman State," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., IV (1954), 19-43.

⁴³ Marjory Hollings, "The Survival of the Five Hide Unit in the Western Midlands," *English Historical Review*, LXIII (Oct. 1948), 453-87.

⁴⁴ *The Red Book of Worcester*, ed. *id.* (4 vols., London, 1934-50). See *id.*, "Survival of Five Hide Unit," 453 ff.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 481; Domesday Book, ed. Furley and Ellis, I, 53, 68, 170b, 172b, 491-92, etc.

virgates of land make one hide and five hides make one knight." She cites, moreover, a number of passages wherein several small scattered holdings totaling five hides are combined into one knight fee, thus nullifying Round's argument that the frequency of five-hide fees was due to the settling of knights on pre-Conquest five-hide estates. She even attempts to show that the *servitium debitum* of the entire see of Worcester was based on the number of five-hide units which it held, exclusive of demesne land, but here she is unable to bring her figures into exact agreement and is therefore less convincing. Her evidence is, nevertheless, impressive, and she is courageous although rather too optimistic in suggesting that if Round had been familiar with her evidence, "it is more than probable that he would have modified his theory of knight service. . . ." Miss Hollings goes on to show numerous parallels between Anglo-Norman knight service and Anglo-Saxon army duty and concludes that knight service, at least in the early post-Conquest decades, was patterned in many ways after service in the pre-Conquest fyrd. The existence of numerous English knight fees of other than five hides and of such arbitrary diversity as one finds in the quotas of the Anglo-Norman tenants in chief, she attributes to irregularities and variations in pre-Conquest hidage assessments and to special privileges enjoyed by many religious houses: "It is true that there appears to have been much caprice and no uniformity in the assessment of the tenants in chief for knight service, but it is also true that there was no uniformity of custom in the England of the eleventh century."⁴⁶

The reaction against Round's hypothesis gained considerable momentum with the appearance in 1960 of Eric John's book, *Land Tenure in Early England*. The author devotes the final chapter of this admirable work to a full-scale attack on Round's theory of knight service. Like Miss Hollings, John stresses the Worcester evidence and the survival of the five-hide unit. He shows that the tenures which the Anglo-Saxon bishops of Worcester had granted for periods of three lives were still in existence two decades after the Conquest, that they were virtually unaffected by the coming of the Normans, and yet that by 1086 they were presumably held by knights in return for feudal military service.⁴⁷ He concurs with Round's demonstration that feudal knight quotas had been established by the early 1070's, but questions Round's belief that they were instituted by the Conqueror. He maintains, on the contrary, that the quotas had existed prior to the

⁴⁶ Hollings, "Survival of Five Hide Unit," 454, 464.

⁴⁷ John, *Land Tenure*, 140-43. These conclusions are based on the Domesday *cartula* disclosing the liberties of the bishop's triple hundred of Oswaldslow in 1086, Domesday Book, ed. Furley and Ellis, I, 172b; *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorensis*, ed. Thomas Hearne (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1723), I, 287-88.

Conquest and that, as the Worcester records illustrate, they were based on the Anglo-Saxon military unit of five hides. To be sure, many post-Conquest knight fees, particularly outside the Worcester estates, varied from the five-hide norm, but this fact no more disproves the Anglo-Saxon origin of the knight fee "than the existence of Domesday hundreds containing nothing like a hundred hides disproves the continuity of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman hundred."⁴⁸ There was, in fact, no revolution at all; the military system which had prevailed prior to the Conquest extended across the barrier of 1066 to govern the recruitment of the Anglo-Norman feudal army.

Such are the views of Eric John and Miss Hollings. Their arguments are ingenious and, up to a point, convincing. But I cannot agree with their basic thesis of direct continuity between thegn and knight. Much of their evidence is limited to the estates of the bishopric of Worcester, and although it cannot be denied that the bishops of Worcester tended to apportion their knight fees on a five-hide basis, no such rule existed elsewhere. The fees of Peterborough, for example, are nearly all much smaller than five hides, and a few are less than one hide.⁴⁹ Generally speaking, English knight fees not only fail to conform regularly to the five-hide criterion; they show no uniformity of hidage or carucage whatever, whereas the reverse seems to have been true of pre-Conquest military assessments.⁵⁰ The advocates of direct continuity argue that the original Saxon five-hide quotas were probably "bent or reduced" in the century or so before the Conquest,⁵¹ but this argument cannot be pressed very far since most of our evidence for the very existence of the Anglo-Saxon five-hide unit comes from Domesday Book and therefore refers to conditions on the threshold of the Norman invasion.⁵²

⁴⁸ John, *Land Tenure*, 149-51. John also stresses the importance of the Anglo-Saxon hundred as a basic unit of military service, producing twenty warriors at the normal rate of one warrior from five hides. It is this twenty-warrior unit, he suggests, that governs the organization of the Anglo-Norman feudal army and the assessment of feudal quotas rather than the Norman ten-knight constabulary that Round stressed. The problem of the English military hundred lies beyond the scope of this paper. There is nothing implausible about the existence of such a unit, but I find John's evidence far from conclusive on the matter. See *ibid.*, 115 ff., 154-58.

⁴⁹ "Radulfus de la Mare ii hidas et dimidiam in Hamtonascira, et ii carrucas et dimidiam in Lincolnescira, et inde servit se iii milite. . . . De terra Radulfi iii virgae in Hamtonascira quae modo sunt in dominio et serviebant pro milite. . . . Eudo Dapifer en Castretune dimidiam hidam et en Writhorp i virgam, et servit pro i milite. . . . Wimund ii hidas et i virgam in Hamtonascira, et calumniatur in Ailintona i hidam et dimidiam de socna, et servit *tamen* pro milite," etc. *Chronicon Petrobургense*, ed. Thomas Stapleton (London, 1849), 169-75.

⁵⁰ See my article, "The Five-Hide Unit and the Old English Military Obligation," *Speculum*, XXXVI (Jan. 1961), 61-74.

⁵¹ John, *Land Tenure*, 160.

⁵² Round discovered a strong tendency toward the grouping of lands in five-hide units throughout much of England, reflecting, presumably, the five-hide recruitment districts of the Anglo-Saxon fyrd (*Feudal England*, 44-69). But these five-hide groupings by no means correspond to the boundaries of most Anglo-Norman knight fees.

And it is hazardous to conclude that the presence of five-hide fees on the Worcester lands proves their direct relationship with the pre-Conquest units, whereas the absence of five-hide fees elsewhere is somehow irrelevant to the issue. Everything points to the fact that the standardized Worcester fee was purely a local phenomenon. There was nothing to prevent a tenant in chief from establishing on his estates knight fees of uniform hidation. Indeed, the bishop of Worcester was not the only magnate to do so. In the Danelaw, Philip of Kyme granted a tenement to Bullington priory free of all obligations except service to the king, "that is, the service of one-fifth of a knight from each carucate of land and of one-fortieth of a knight from each bovat." ⁵³ In the Danelaw, land was assessed in carucates rather than hides, and since one carucate is equal to eight bovates the charter established a uniform fee of five carucates. But there is no evidence to suggest that the pre-Conquest fyrd was recruited in this region on the basis of a five-carucate unit. ⁵⁴ Again, William son of Amfrid acknowledged in the late twelfth century that he would perform the royal service due from four bovates where seven bovates make a quarter of a knight's fee, implying a uniform fee in this district of twenty-eight bovates or three and one-half carucates. ⁵⁵ In these carucated regions as on the estates of the see of Worcester, furthermore, knight fees were frequently composed of small scattered tenements. ⁵⁶ But these isolated examples of local uniformity prove nothing in the absence of any general regularity in the hidage or carucage of English fees. The evidence for a standard five-hide military unit throughout pre-Conquest England is very strong; ⁵⁷ the evidence for completely heterogeneous knight fees in post-Conquest England is overwhelming. And it is therefore extremely awkward to argue that the two systems were directly related—that one evolved out of the other.

Turning from the individual fees to the quotas of the tenants in chief, the thesis of direct continuity becomes even more difficult to maintain. Needless to say, it is impossible to discover any five-hide basis to the Anglo-

⁵³ "... scilicet quintam partem militis pro carrucata terre et quadragesimam partem militis pro bouata." *Danelaw Charters*, ed. Stenton, No. 61, issued sometime after A.D. 1169.

⁵⁴ There is no direct evidence as to the relationship of carucates to fyrd duty. In the region where fyrd duty was assessed at the rate of one man for five hides, however, Round finds a strong tendency for lands to be grouped in five-hide units (see n. 52), and in regions where lands were assessed in carucates rather than hides, he finds that groupings of six carucates were extremely common, suggesting by analogy that fyrd service in these areas was levied at the rate of one man for six carucates. *Feudal England*, 69–82.

⁵⁵ "... forinsecum seruitium de quatuor bouatis terre unde septem bouate faciunt quartam partem feudi unius militis. . . ." *Danelaw Charters*, ed. Stenton, No. 511. There are other less definite examples of this tendency toward local uniformity, for example, *ibid.*, No. 104. William Mustel grants a bovat in Torrington to Bullington priory "Faciendo . . . forinsecum seruicium quantum ad illam bouatam pertinet." See *ibid.*, No. 171, pp. cxxvii ff.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 244, p. cxxxii.

⁵⁷ Hollister, "The Five-Hide Unit," 61–74.

Norman quotas, or, indeed, any exact relationship whatever between the number of hides in an honor and the number of knights which it owed. No scholar could seriously disagree with this statement, but some historians have maintained that the bishopric of Worcester was an exception. Maitland observed, "the Bishop of Worcester held 300 hides over which he had sake and soke and all customs; he was bound [prior to the Conquest, according to the five-hide rule] to put 60 *milites* into the field. . . . At the beginning of Henry II's reign he was charged with 60 knight fees."⁵⁸ Round was quick to point out that under Henry II the bishop owed sixty knights from all his lands, which consisted of well over five hundred hides, whereas the sixty-warrior fyrd obligation applied only to the three hundred hides of Oswaldslow Hundred.⁵⁹ The apparent identity of the two obligations was therefore merely an illusion. Miss Hollings and John both attempt to circumvent Round's objection, each in a different way but neither with marked success. The general problem is admirably summarized by John himself: "There are signs which may indicate continuity of quotas, but not many, and they are treacherous signs."⁶⁰

Thus the theory of a direct evolutionary connection between English thegn and Norman knight remains unproven. It must be recognized, nevertheless, that despite the relatively sudden imposition of the *servitia debita*, Anglo-Norman feudalism was, as a whole, gradual in its development after the Conquest. The assessment of knight quotas in or about 1070 by William the Conqueror did not amount to the revolutionary introduction of a mature and integrated feudalism. This point is stressed by Douglas who would, I believe, consider himself in many respects a follower of Round.⁶¹ Douglas has done more than any other historian to show that Round was mistaken in believing that subinfeudation was a mere detail in which the King took no interest. There is considerable evidence to show that the King was deeply interested in the subenfeoffments of his tenants in chief and that he acted accordingly.⁶² It appears, furthermore, that the hereditary

⁵⁸ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 160.

⁵⁹ Round, "Military Tenure before the Conquest," *English Historical Review*, XII (July 1897), 493.

⁶⁰ John, *Land Tenure*, 158. As I have pointed out, Miss Hollings' effort to demonstrate that the extra Worcester hides were demesne land exempt from military service was unconvincing. The three hundred hides of Oswaldslow Hundred owed a ship's crew of sixty men, one from every five hides, and it is incredible that the remaining territories of the bishopric would owe nothing at all. John suggests that perhaps the Oswaldslow hidage "was allowed to stand for the whole of the Worcester . . . estates" (*ibid.*, 158-59), but he seems to recognize that this is a little farfetched. Elsewhere he writes, "At this point I had better confess that I cannot see how this was done" (*ibid.*, 158).

⁶¹ Douglas, "Norman Conquest and English Feudalism," 143, and *passim*.

⁶² *Id.*, "A Charter of Enfeoffment under William the Conqueror," *English Historical Review*, XLII (Apr. 1927), 245 ff., a charter noting the King's permission for a subenfeoffment, printed in *ibid.*, 247, and *Feudal Documents*, ed. *id.*, 151-52. For other examples, see *ibid.*, 4; *Domesday*

feudal tenures upon which Jolliffe lays so much stress were uncommon until the twelfth century. Prior to that time, of the few Anglo-Norman enfeoffment charters which we possess, most create tenancies for life.⁶³ One early enfeoffment charter fails strikingly to stipulate the exact military service which Round's followers consider such a crucial test of the existence of feudalism, but on the contrary requires the tenant to serve within the kingdom with *three or four* knights.⁶⁴ Such charters as these are often regarded as exceptions,⁶⁵ but after the exceptions have been withdrawn, virtually no early evidence remains to illustrate the alleged rule. Subinfeudation proceeded gradually. At first most of the Norman knights served as landless household retainers. Down to 1082 the knights of Ely were not enfeoffed, but were fed and given a wage by the monastery,⁶⁶ and a similar pattern was followed at the abbeys of Abingdon, Peterborough, and Westminster.⁶⁷ These landless household knights constituted a large and significant class throughout the Anglo-Norman age⁶⁸ and played an important role in the so-called feudal host. Yet, if one may be permitted to quote Jolliffe out of context, they were not feudal because they "had not the fee."⁶⁹

On the other hand, there is growing doubt that a good many tenants holding their lands by knight service actually served in the army. The military service of men holding a twentieth or a thirty-second of a knight fee has long been questioned,⁷⁰ but what are we to make of a baker and his brother

Book, ed. Furley and Ellis, I, 66, 191, 200, 222; *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. Stapleton, 168. A number of Anglo-Norman royal charters confirm subenfeoffments. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry IV* (4 vols., London, 1903-1909), I (1399-1401), 420; *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. William Hart and Ponsonby Lyons (RS, 79, 3 vols., London, 1884-93), II, 60; *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray (RS, 83, London, 1886), 216; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis *et al.* (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1913-56), II, Nos. 1268 (Appendix CXXXLV), 1876 (Appendix CCC), and 828 (Appendix XLVIII). Yet in a recent important work one finds the statement, "There is no evidence that the king had hitherto paid attention to the enfeoffments made by his vassals. Henry II, however, began to take a great interest in this question." Sydney Knox Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn., 1951), 112.

⁶³ V. H. Galbraith, "An Episcopal Land-Grant of 1085," *English Historical Review*, XLIV (July 1929), 371-72. See *ibid.*, 353 ff.; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. Davis *et al.*, I, No. 466 (in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. John Caley *et al.* [8 vols., London, 1846], VIII, No. 1272 [1093-1100]), II, No. 828 (Appendix XLVIII [1107]); *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. Macray, 216 (1102); R. R. Darlington, "Aethelwig, Abbot of Evesham," *English Historical Review*, XLVIII (Apr. 1933), 190. Most of the early enfeoffments did, however, become hereditary.

⁶⁴ *Feudal Documents*, ed. Douglas, 151. The reference to hereditary tenure, common in later charters, is conspicuously absent in this one.

⁶⁵ For example, Darlington, "Last Phase of Anglo-Saxon History," 3.

⁶⁶ *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Stewart, 275.

⁶⁷ *Abingdon Chronicle*, ed. Stevenson, II, 3; Round, *Feudal England*, 300; J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin* (Cambridge, Eng., 1911), 40.

⁶⁸ See Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 135-45.

⁶⁹ Jolliffe, *Constitutional History*, 78.

⁷⁰ See Boldon Buke, ed. William Greenwell (Durham, Eng., 1852), Nos. 22 (1/12), 33 (1/20), 34 (1/10); *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, ed. L. C. Loyd and Doris M. Stenton (Oxford, Eng., 1950), Nos. 305 (1/32), 310 (1/20); Stenton, *English Feudalism*, Appendix,

who for a time held land in return for service in the bakery, but later were given half a knight fee?⁷¹ One is hard pressed to imagine a professional baker's being transformed into a professional warrior.⁷² More than likely he merely paid scutage when the army was summoned, and the King applied his payment to the hiring of mercenaries. Elsewhere we find sokemen holding lands by military tenure and a sergeant holding his estate in return for knight service in the feudal host with two horses and his arms⁷³—a sergeant who is thus indistinguishable from a knight. All of this evidence points to the fact that a mature feudal system was not established overnight by the fiat of the Conqueror.

Furthermore, the new feudal army was profoundly influenced by Anglo-Saxon practices. It was forced, as it were, into the Procrustean bed of Old English custom. Anglo-Saxon military tactics, for example, seem to have had a far greater effect upon Anglo-Norman warfare than most historians have heretofore realized. Traditionally, the Battle of Hastings is said to have symbolized a radical and permanent shift in English tactics from infantry to cavalry. Professor Charles Oman regarded Hastings as "the last great example of an endeavour to use the old infantry tactics of the Teutonic races against the now fully-developed cavalry of feudalism."⁷⁴ With the victory of the Normans, "The supremacy of the feudal horseman was finally established."⁷⁵ Stephenson has stressed that one of the principal distinctions of the new feudal knight was his long and arduous training in the tactics of fighting on horseback fully armed.⁷⁶ But a closer examination of the evidence suggests that this notion of a post-Conquest tactical revolution is badly exaggerated. In 1952 Richard Glover published a brilliant and provocative article showing that the housecarls of the Old English army frequently fought on horseback and that their equipment and tactics were virtually identical to those of the Norman knights of the eleventh century. Glover has also demonstrated that the Anglo-Saxon fyrd included a considerable body of trained archers who fought effectively at the Battle of Stamford Bridge in September 1066, but were not sufficiently mobile to accompany Harold on his forced march to

Nos. 39 (1/20), 40 (1/16); *Danelaw Charters*, ed. *id.*, Nos. 60 (1/16), 473 (1/40), 539 (1/100).

⁷¹ *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections*, ed. *id.* (Lincoln and London, 1930), frontispiece, 2.

⁷² Stenton remarks that at the time of this charter "English feudalism was still elastic" (*ibid.*, 6), but the charter was issued in 1142.

⁷³ *Chronicon Petrobургense*, ed. Stapleton, 169, 175.

⁷⁴ Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages* (2d ed., 2 vols., London, 1924), I, 149.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 167. See also J. F. Verbruggen, *De Krijgskunst in West-Europa in de Middeleeuwen* (Brussels, 1954), 72. Verbruggen states that foot soldiers remained in England only until 1066 (*ibid.*, 197).

⁷⁶ Stephenson, "Feudalism and Its Antecedents," 259 ff.

Hastings.⁷⁷ On the other hand, the fyrd itself, exclusive of the housecarls, seems to have consisted of a select body of well-armed infantry soldiers whose tactics included the close defensive formation of the shield wall. This formation, as the Battle of Hastings illustrates, was capable of withstanding repeated charges by a powerful army of feudal knights.⁷⁸ If the Anglo-Saxon army differed fundamentally from that of the Normans it was in the possession of this well-equipped select infantry.⁷⁹

This Anglo-Saxon tradition of a strong infantry carried over into the warfare of the Anglo-Norman age, for the Norman knights of post-Conquest England usually fought on foot. This is admittedly a radical statement, contrary to accepted historical opinion and to virtually everything that has been written on the subject, yet when we examine the contemporary sources relating to Anglo-Norman warfare we find that in every major engagement the bulk of the Anglo-Norman feudal host fought as infantry. Most of the warfare, of course, consisted of castle sieges in which the mounted knight was of only limited usefulness, but even in the few important pitched battles of the age the knights of the royal army, or at least a large portion of them, dismounted before the fighting began. At the Battle of Tinchebrai of 1106 in which King Henry I of England won the duchy of Normandy from his brother Robert, the one eyewitness to describe the engagement testified that 96 per cent of the royal army was on foot, including the King himself and all his barons.⁸⁰ In 1119 at Brémule a large portion of King Henry's army was composed of dismounted knights,⁸¹ and according to one source the battle

⁷⁷ Richard Glover, "English Warfare in 1066," *English Historical Review*, LXVII (Jan. 1952), 1-18.

⁷⁸ The Norman victory at Hastings was due more to the effectiveness of the Norman archers than to the shock tactics of the cavalry.

⁷⁹ The Normans, in addition to their archers, had a territorial infantry force, the *arrière-ban*. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 22 ff. But this force must have been far inferior to the English fyrd, for the Norman kings of England transported large numbers of English foot soldiers across the Channel for their continental campaigns. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Charles Plummer (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1892-99), I, 209, 214; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (2 vols., London, 1848-49), II, 10, 35; Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold (RS, 75, 2 vols., London, 1882-85), II, 179; William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs (RS, 90, 2 vols., London, 1887-89), II, 316; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Auguste Le Prévost (5 vols., Paris, 1838-55), II, 254, 256-57, 387-88; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Thomas Arnold (RS, 74, London, 1879), 217. The fact that throughout much of England one warrior was sent to the fyrd from five hides and was paid twenty shillings for each expedition confirms the view that the fyrd was a strongly supported and select group.

⁸⁰ "... in secunda [acie] uero rex cum innumeris baronibus suis, omnes similiter pedites." From the account of a priest of Fécamp, *English Historical Review*, XXV (Apr. 1910), 296. See *ibid.*, 295-96, XXIV (Oct. 1909), 728-32. The exaggerated figures of this eyewitness give a total of seventeen hundred cavalry (including one thousand held in reserve) out of an army of forty thousand. According to Henry of Huntingdon, King Henry and Duke Robert, "et acies caeterae pedites erant, ut constantius pugnarent." Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 235.

⁸¹ The three contemporary writers who describe this battle do not agree. Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. Auguste Molinier, in *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire* (Paris, 1887), 45; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 241-42; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 359. But all three speak of a large force of dismounted knights.

was decided by a charge of closely packed infantry.⁸² At Bourg Théroulde in 1124 the majority of the Anglo-Norman knights again fought on foot, and the charge of the enemy force was broken by dismounted knights and archers.⁸³ In 1138 at Northallerton the Anglo-Norman knights dismounted to a man and formed into a shield wall such as King Harold had used at Hastings.⁸⁴ At Lincoln in 1141 King Stephen and his knights fought on foot, the King himself at one point wielding a Danish battle-ax.⁸⁵

These five battles are the only ones of any significance in the Anglo-Norman age. The overriding importance of infantry which they illustrate stands in sharp contrast with the cavalry warfare of most of Western Europe. The Frankish infantry had been strong in the eighth century, but declined in later Carolingian times and was of little consequence by the eleventh century.⁸⁶ Frankish knights dismounted to fight at the Battle of the Dyle in 891,⁸⁷ but this was an exceptional instance apparently necessitated by the nature of the terrain.⁸⁸ In general, Frankish knights of this period did not dismount.⁸⁹ Anglo-Norman knights, on the other hand, fought on foot more often than on horseback, and those English feudal warriors who were "accustomed to win by the ponderous charge of mailed cavalry across the unenclosed fields and hillsides of England and Normandy"⁹⁰ exist largely in the imaginations of Oman and his successors.

Nor was the repeated use of infantry tactics the only way in which the new feudal army was shaped to the pattern of the Old English fyrd. It can be

⁸² Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 241. According to Orderic, King Henry and his knights fought on foot as at Tinchebrai. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 359.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, IV, 457-58. On this battle and the significance of its tactics, see Lot, *L'Art militaire*, I, 318; Oman, *Art of War*, I, 388-90; Verbruggen, *Krijgskunst*, 352.

⁸⁴ Aelfred of Rievaulx, *Relatio de Standardo*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett (RS, 82, 4 vols., London, 1884-89), III, 189 ff., 196; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, II, 111-12; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 264; Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani et de Bello Standardii*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, etc.*, III, 163-65; Lot, *L'Art militaire*, I, 286-87; Round, *Commune of London*, 41; Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* (2 vols., London, 1887), I, 291.

⁸⁵ A small royal cavalry force played an inglorious role in this engagement. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 274.

⁸⁶ On the decline of the Carolingian infantry, see Hans von Mangoldt-Gaudlitz, *Die Reiterei in den germanischen und fränkischen Heeren bis zum Ausgang der deutschen Karolinger* (Berlin, 1922), 82 ff., and *passim*; Lot, *L'Art militaire*, I, 92, 104, 121, 123. The Frankish infantry is also discussed by Karl Rübel, "Fränkische und spätrömische Kriegswesen," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXIV (1906), 134 ff. On the decline of infantry with the rise of feudalism, see Verbruggen, *Krijgskunst*, 197.

⁸⁷ Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. Friedrich Kurze (Hanover, 1890), 136 ff.

⁸⁸ *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. *id.* (Hanover, 1891), 120.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*; see also Mangoldt-Gaudlitz, *Die Reiterei*, 84-86. In a much later period, continental knights are found dismounting for battle; for example, the Flemish knights at Courtrai in 1302. Verbruggen, *Krijgskunst*, 313 ff.; see also Lot, *L'Art militaire*, I, 435 ff.

⁹⁰ Oman, *Art of War*, II, 403. J. E. Morris mistakenly asserts that not until the fourteenth century did the knights of England learn to dismount to fight. "Halidon Hill is the first battle in which the great men fought on foot. . . ." "Mounted Infantry in Mediaeval Warfare," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3d ser., VIII (1914), 91-92.

shown, for example, that in time of war the Anglo-Norman knights were customarily expected to serve at their own expense not for a period of forty days a year as was the custom in Normandy,⁹¹ but for two months.⁹² The Berkshire entry in Domesday Book illustrates that this two-month obligation represented the customary duty period of the pre-Conquest English army.⁹³ Again, the custom of scutage, so typical of twelfth-century English feudalism, can be traced to certain pre-Conquest English towns which paid money to the crown in lieu of military service. Miss Hollings argued from Domesday evidence that scutage was anticipated in Anglo-Saxon times,⁹⁴ but she did not perceive the full significance of her statement. Whenever a pre-Conquest town is found to have the privilege of paying the crown a sum of money in lieu of military service,⁹⁵ that payment always represents the exact sum needed by the crown to hire a substitute. We know from the Berkshire entry in Domesday that a fyrd soldier was paid twenty shillings for his two months of service.⁹⁶ At Oxford the townsmen owed twenty warriors or twenty pounds "that all might be free," thus compounding at twenty shillings a warrior. The burghers of Warwick owed the king four boatswains (*batsueins*) or four pounds on maritime expeditions, and Malmesbury sent one man or twenty shillings on all royal expeditions.⁹⁷ Thus, the pattern is set, and it is followed in later scutages of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin periods where again the rate is set so as to provide the crown with the sum needed to hire a competent military replacement.⁹⁸ The parallel is arresting and provides

⁹¹ The Bayeux Inquest of 1133 states that knights in Normandy owed forty days' annual service. *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores: Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al. (24 vols., Paris, 1738-1904), XXIII, 699-700. This fact is confirmed by two eleventh-century Norman charters. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, 19-22; *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, ed. John Horace Round (London, 1899), No. 714.

⁹² *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, ed. J. B. Nichols (8 vols., London, 1834-43), II, 163. See my article, "The Annual Term of Military Service in Medieval England," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, XIII (June 1960), 40-47.

⁹³ "... de quinque hidis tantum unus miles ibat, et ad eius victum vel stipendium de unaquaque hida dabantur et iiii solidi *ad duos menses*." Domesday Book, ed. Furlley and Ellis, I, 56b.

⁹⁴ Hollings, "Survival of Five Hide Unit," 469. But Miss Hollings argues from the Berkshire passage quoted above (n. 93) rather than from the more relevant borough customs. As it stands, I believe that her argument is unconvincing, since twelfth-century scutage payments represented something more than mere equipment money. Rather, they were payments to the king which he might use to hire mercenaries. See *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. Arthur Hughes et al. (Oxford, Eng., 1902), 98-99.

⁹⁵ This practice of paying money in lieu of service is to be distinguished sharply from the custom that recurs in Domesday and in the laws of paying a fine (*fyrdwite*) as a penalty for nonperformance of the military obligation. The former custom represented a legal alternative rather than a form of punishment.

⁹⁶ Domesday Book, ed. Furlley and Ellis, I, 56b; see n. 93. Four shillings from each of five hides comes to twenty shillings.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 64b, 154, 238. The burghers of Malmesbury paid their twenty shillings to the king in lieu of military service so that he might feed his *buzecarles*. On these *buzecarles* or *buissecarles*, see T. J. Oleson, *The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor* (London, 1955), 169.

⁹⁸ See Round, *Feudal England*, 271, on the scutage of 1156. I elaborate on this point in

another important institutional link between pre-Conquest fyrd service and post-Conquest knight service.

Other examples might also be discussed, such as the reservation of feudal allegiance on the part of the Anglo-Norman kings, which seems to have an Old English rather than a Norman genesis. Jolliffe points out that the centrifugal tendencies of continental feudalism were severely limited in Norman England by Anglo-Saxon laws prohibiting violence—laws which remained in full force after the Conquest, for in England, “in contrast with Normandy, war between subjects had been illegal for centuries. . . .”⁹⁹ Norman feudal justice when introduced into post-Conquest England, moreover, “is required to fit into a vigorous system of royal and popular justice. . . .”¹⁰⁰ But lest the Anglicizing of Norman feudalism be overemphasized it should be repeated that despite this institutional continuity the Anglo-Norman feudal army was not the direct successor of the Anglo-Saxon fyrd. Disregarding for the moment the immense body of literature on the subject, let us approach the issue from a new viewpoint.

In 1094 King William II summoned a large body of Englishmen to Hastings for service on the Continent, but instead of having them sent overseas, the King’s agent, Ranulf Flambard, took ten shillings from each of them, the money which they had received for their service, and dismissed them.¹⁰¹ Who were these Englishmen? We return to the Berkshire entry in Domesday: “If the king sent an army anywhere, only one fighting man went from five hides, and four shillings were given him from each hide as food and wages. . . . This money was not sent to the king, but was given to the soldiers.”¹⁰² This was the pre-Conquest custom, and it persisted well into Anglo-Norman times as is shown by the Hastings episode of 1094.¹⁰³ The Anglo-Saxon fyrd, based

my article “The Significance of Scutage Rates in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England,” *English Historical Review*, LXXV (Oct. 1960), 577–88.

⁹⁹ Jolliffe, *Constitutional History*, 156.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* Sidney Painter suggests that the feudal justice introduced by the Conquest was not exclusively Norman, for the army with which William conquered England included barons from numerous districts outside Normandy, each with its own feudal law; some of these non-Norman barons seem to have introduced their native feudal customs into their English fiefs. “The Family and the Feudal System in Twelfth-Century England,” *Speculum*, XXXV (Jan. 1960), 2.

¹⁰¹ Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, II, 35; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 217; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Plummer, I, 229.

¹⁰² Domesday Book, ed. Furley and Ellis, I, 56b; see n. 93.

¹⁰³ It should be noted that in 1094 each soldier had ten shillings whereas Domesday attests that each *miles* was paid twenty shillings. Domesday adds, however, that the twenty shillings were for both food and wages. It is by no means unlikely that the departing warrior would take his subsistence money with him to pay his campaign expenses, but would leave his wages behind or else collect them on his return. Perhaps, then, these soldiers were paid half their money (for food) on their departure and the other half (for wages) on their return. This would harmonize with the widespread custom in medieval England of making payments in two equal installments. See *Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections*, ed. Stenton, 132; *Sir Christopher Hatton’s Book of Seals*, ed. Loyd and D. M. Stenton, Nos. 114, 337, 343,

on a territorial system of recruitment which at least in wide areas was calculated on the basis of one warrior for five hides, was an active institution in Anglo-Norman times.¹⁰⁴ The episode of 1094 is well known, and it is surprising that its fundamental relevance to the problem of knight service has never been grasped: The Anglo-Norman feudal army cannot possibly have evolved out of the pre-Conquest military force *because that force continued to exist for decades after the Conquest as a separate and distinct English army serving the Norman kings alongside the new feudal host*. The two armies fought side by side on many occasions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰⁵ Some historians have noted the survival of the fyrd into post-Conquest times but the importance of its role in Anglo-Norman warfare has not been sufficiently recognized. This neglect apparently stems from the notion that infantry in the Middle Ages was utterly inconsequential as compared with cavalry and that the Normans, having introduced a feudal cavalry force into England, could not possibly have been interested in the Old English infantry. In a recent revised edition of Oman's *Art of War* we read, "Infantry was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries absolutely insignificant. . . . There was . . . no really important part for them to play. . . . If great bodies of foot occasionally appeared upon the field, they came because it was the duty of every able-bodied man to join the *arrière-ban* when summoned, not because the addition of 20,000 or 100,000 half-armed peasants and burghers was calculated to increase the real strength of the levy."¹⁰⁶ We are unable to learn, however, why these useless troops were summoned at all.

One might think that medieval tacticians would have found it useful to employ combined forces of infantry and cavalry as generals of other ages have done, but this view conflicts with one of the most venerable canons of medieval military history: that during the Middle Ages tactics were virtually nonexistent. Oman writes, "An engagement like Brémule (A.D. 1119) or Bouvines (A.D. 1214) or Benevento (A.D. 1266) was nothing more than a huge scuffle and scramble of horses and men over a convenient heath or hillside. The most ordinary precautions, such as directing a reserve on a critical point, or detaching a corps to take the enemy in flank, or selecting a good position in which

373, 380, 402, and *passim*; *Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, ed. C. W. Foster and Kathleen Major (8 vols. to date, Hereford, 1931-58), II, No. 625, IV, Nos. 1195, 1301, and *passim*; *Transcripts of Charters Relating to Gilbertine Houses*, ed. F. M. Stenton (Horncastle, Eng., 1922), 7, 12, 17, 79, and *passim*.

¹⁰⁴ I discuss this subject in a forthcoming article.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 254, III, 274-77, IV, 174; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, II, 10, 11, 22; William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, II, 316, 362, 471-72.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, rev. and ed. John H. Beeler (rev. ed., Ithaca, N. Y., 1953), 63-64. The editor notes that the figures of twenty thousand or 100,000 are "hopelessly exaggerated," but does not otherwise comment on the statement. *Ibid.*, 64, n. 6.

to receive battle, were considered instances of surpassing military skill."¹⁰⁷

But this pessimistic view of medieval tactics has been questioned increasingly by recent scholars in England and on the Continent.¹⁰⁸ Professor J. F. Verbruggen has demonstrated with painstaking scholarship that feudal armies were well organized and disciplined, that feudal generalship was usually based on sound tactical and strategic concepts, and that infantry and cavalry were frequently combined with considerable skill.¹⁰⁹ These views are confirmed in a striking manner by a Syrian eyewitness to the Third Crusade who described the skillful manner in which the Frankish cavalry and infantry supported one another.¹¹⁰ The foot soldiers surrounded the knights with a shield wall strengthened by lancers and crossbowmen, the entire formation marching toward the enemy like a moving city until, at the critical moment, the foot soldiers opened a corridor in their ranks allowing the cavalry to charge. If the charge was unsuccessful, the knights galloped back through the opening which closed around them and regrouped for another charge. The Syrian observer was impressed not only by the courage of the Franks but also by their tactical sophistication. We have already noted the frequency with which Anglo-Norman knights dismounted to fight, sometimes supported by a small cavalry force. If cavalry tactics completely overshadowed infantry warfare one cannot understand why knights should ever dismount. Such a procedure would seem utterly foolhardy, yet the Anglo-Normans usually won their battles.

But Oman's views on the uselessness of infantry hold up no better than his position that medieval knights lacked any capacity for tactics and strategy. In fact the two notions are linked, for the majority of medieval generals were sufficiently sound tacticians to recognize the usefulness of combined infantry-cavalry operations with each of the two arms playing the role best suited to it—the infantry generally acting as a defensive force, protecting its own cavalry and breaking the charges of the enemy knights, and the cavalry emerging

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 60. Hans Delbrück was a vigorous exponent of this interpretation. *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte* (2d ed., 3 vols., Berlin, 1923). For a brief discussion and criticism of this view, see J. F. Verbruggen, "La tactique militaire des armées de chevaliers," *Revue du Nord*, XXIX (July-Sept. 1947), 161 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Piero Pieri was one of the first to question this view. "Alcune quistioni sopra la fanteria in Italia nel periodo comunale," *Rivista storica italiana*, L (No. 4, 1933), 567-68. See also Verbruggen, *Krijgskunst*, *passim*, and "La tactique militaire," 161-80; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), and "Art of War," in *Medieval England*, ed. Austin Lane Poole (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1958), I, 136 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Verbruggen shows that the feudal cavalry was normally organized into small groups of forty warriors or less—the bannerets or *conrois*—which in turn were integrated into larger tactical units. "La tactique militaire," 163-68; *Krijgskunst*, 148-94. He also stresses the frequent use of a reserve force, sometimes placed in ambush, the employment of the feigned flight (*Krijgskunst*, 173-80), and the importance of order, planning, and discipline in the use of shock tactics (the charge).

¹¹⁰ H. Ritter, "La parure des cavaliers [of ibn Hudail] und die Literatur über die ritterlichen Kunste," *Der Islam*, XVIII (1929), 146-47.

from the infantry line to charge the foe and retiring behind the infantry if the charge failed. This pattern was followed in numerous battles of the later Middle Ages: at Arsouf and Jaffa in the Holy Land,¹¹¹ at Legnano, Bouvines, the Battle of the Steppes, Worringen, Norman Sicily, and elsewhere on the Continent.¹¹² An effective infantry was normally essential to military success.¹¹³ Foot soldiers played a particularly important role in Flanders and Liège during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,¹¹⁴ and their importance was widely recognized long before the fourteenth century when the victories of Swiss, Scotch, Flemish, and English infantrymen at Morgarten, Bannockburn, Courtrai, and Crécy startled Western Europe.

Assuming, therefore, that Anglo-Norman tactics followed those of the Continent, William the Conqueror and his successors could put the Old English fyrd to excellent use. As Professor Bryce Lyon says, "What made these hardheaded kings so efficient was that they possessed an innate sense of knowing when they saw a good thing. Never did they destroy an effective Anglo-Saxon institution."¹¹⁵ And few medieval commanders would spurn a well-armed and well-organized infantry organization. Indeed, as we have seen, these English foot soldiers seem to have constituted a considerably more effective force than the contemporary continental infantry. Not only did the Norman kings transport the fyrd across the Channel to aid them in their continental campaigns, they also used the fyrd on several occasions to crush major feudal rebellions at home.¹¹⁶ These English infantrymen could fight the best feudal cavalry blow for blow. Operating at a serious disadvantage at Hastings they had been defeated, but their success in subsequent continental warfare prompted William of Malmesbury to comment that although vanquished by the Normans in 1066, they always appeared invincible in a foreign country.¹¹⁷ Thus after the Conquest, England remained as before singularly oriented toward infantry tactics. Often even the fyrd was insuffi-

¹¹¹ *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. William Stubbs (RS, 38, 2 vols., London, 1864-65), I, 249-75, 413-24; René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* (3 vols., Paris, 1934-36), III, 62-71, 114-16; Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 188-200; Lot, *L'Art militaire*, I, 163; Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, III, 427-28. On Richard I's use of the shield wall at Jaffa in 1192, see *Itinerarium*, ed. Stubbs, I, 415-16.

¹¹² Verbruggen, *Krijgskunst*, 346 ff., 390 ff., 399 ff., 435 ff.

¹¹³ On the use of infantry in Latin Syria, see Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 115 ff., and Verbruggen, *Krijgskunst*, 213-16. On medieval infantry in general, see *ibid.*, 196-335.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 247 ff., 255 ff.

¹¹⁵ Bryce Lyon, *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England* (New York, 1960), 103.

¹¹⁶ In 1074-1075, 1088, 1101, and 1102. Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 262-63, III, 271, 277, IV, 174; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, II, 11, 22, 48-49; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 214; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Plummer, I, 211; William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, II, 362, 471-72.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 316. As a result of the Battle of Stamford Bridge and the subsequent forced march, Harold fought at Hastings without cavalry, with merely a handful of archers, and with a sharply reduced infantry force supplemented by last-minute local conscripts.

cient as a source of select infantrymen, and the Norman kings buttressed it by ordering the majority of the knights to dismount or by hiring mercenary foot soldiers.¹¹⁸ In a sense the Anglo-Norman foot soldiers were precursors of the European infantry which became dominant after the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁹ Verbruggen speaks of the advantages that the medieval cavalry enjoyed as a result of their tactics of charging in very close formation against a force that was not so closely packed,¹²⁰ but these advantages would surely be lost in a charge against a wall of shields such as the Anglo-Saxons employed. Indeed, the development of a closely packed formation was one of the vital factors in the triumphs of the Flemish, Scotch, and Swiss foot soldiers in the late Middle Ages. Another factor in these later infantry victories was the development of an adequate system to support and arm foot soldiers in order that they might fight effectively,¹²¹ but the English had developed such a system long before the Norman Conquest.¹²²

With the coming of the Normans to England, the housecarls, who had previously constituted a potent cavalry force, were replaced by mounted knights. Cavalry remained an important factor in English warfare—probably its importance increased after the Conquest—but the Anglo-Norman monarchs continued to emphasize infantry tactics to a considerably greater extent than their continental contemporaries.¹²³ Combined and coordinated by the Norman monarchy, the Old English fyrd and the Norman feudal host influenced one another profoundly. Gradually during the twelfth century the fyrd seems to have lost its five-hide basis and to have been converted into a complex of individual, quasi-feudal military tenures,¹²⁴ but far more immediate was the impact of the fyrd upon the feudal host. It seems certain that the fyrd was the primary agent through which Norman feudalism was Angli-

¹¹⁸ In 1085, for example, William I brought a huge band of mercenaries to England to protect the island against a threatened Danish invasion. Among these mercenaries were large numbers of foot soldiers and archers. Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, II, 18; see also Verbruggen, *Krijgskunst*, 218–21. Verbruggen's view of William of Ypres as a commander of mercenary foot soldiers should be modified, for at the Battle of Lincoln he commanded a small cavalry force. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 273–74.

¹¹⁹ Verbruggen recognizes that many of the factors contributing to the success of the infantry in the fourteenth century were present in the English army at Hastings. *Krijgskunst*, 110–11.

¹²⁰ *Id.*, "La tactique militaire," 177.

¹²¹ *Id.*, *Krijgskunst*, 250 ff., 282–83, 291 ff., 298 ff.

¹²² As shown in Domesday Book, ed. Furley and Ellis, I, 56b.

¹²³ The Anglo-Norman kings, unlike their continental contemporaries, seem to have used their infantry offensively as well as defensively. This was apparently the case at Brémule. Henry of Huntingdon (*Historia Anglorum*, 241) states that when both armies were thoroughly engaged, the French were routed by a charge of Anglo-Norman foot soldiers who had been held in reserve.

¹²⁴ The survey of Peterborough knights, for example, lists a number of tenants, mostly sokemen, who owed military service *cum militibus*. *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. Stapleton, 171 ff. These tenants may once have owed their service as warrior-representatives of hide or carucate units, but later, apparently, their service became a direct obligation to the abbey of Peterborough, arising from their tenures.

cized. The integration of the two forces, which began almost immediately after the Conquest,¹²⁵ necessitated the employment of coordinated tactics and a uniform duty period. Here at last we can solve the riddle of the two months' feudal service and the astonishing persistence of infantry warfare.

Round was correct in stressing the novelty of the post-Conquest feudal army, but he and many of his followers drifted into the unwarranted corollary that this force of knights dominated the military history of the Anglo-Norman age.¹²⁶ Indeed, one can accept neither the old theory of Freeman, Maitland, and Vinogradoff that the Anglo-Saxon army evolved into the feudal host, nor the newer interpretation of Round and his followers that the post-Conquest military organization constituted a sudden and radical break with the past. The feudal army did not dominate the military organization of Norman England, for alongside it there existed the *fyrð* and the mercenaries, military institutions of comparable strength whose origins can be traced to the remote Anglo-Saxon past and whose influence upon feudal knight service is manifest.¹²⁷ Thus, the way is open for a new approach to the problem—a third theory which accepts Round's views on the introduction of knight service, but challenges his conclusion that the effects of the Norman Conquest on English military institutions were cataclysmic.

¹²⁵ Orderic speaks of the deliberate integration of the two forces in the Maine campaign of 1073 (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 254), but their joint operations date from as early as 1068 (*ibid.*, II, 180).

¹²⁶ For example, Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 191, 214.

¹²⁷ The widespread use of household troops—warriors in the *familia* or the personal following of the king or an important lord—represents another important point of continuity between Saxon and Norman England. The companions of Earl Byrhtnoth at the Battle of Maldon in 991 were motivated by the same traditional heroic ideals of the Germanic *comitatus* as their counterparts after the Conquest. *The Battle of Maldon*, ed. E. V. Gordon (3d ed., London, 1954); Verbruggen, *Krijgskunst*, 142 ff. The Anglo-Norman household knight represents a merging of two essentially similar traditions: the Norman and the Anglo-Saxon.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Rhetoric and Politics in the French Revolution

PETER GAY*

THE professional historian is an amateur psychologist, whether he knows it or not. The obscure links between thought and action, ideology and policy, engage his closest attention and elicit his boldest guesses. As historical personages parade before him, he can see their acts but he must infer their motives. Consciously or unconsciously, he finds himself operating with a theory of human nature. He operates, too, with a set of tastes which make him into a part-time literary critic and with a private scale of values which make him (a little furtively) into a Monday morning moralist. Judge, critic, psychiatrist—the historian is a busy man.

The French Revolution brings his varied talents into full play. Here is an event that was stirring, complicated, far reaching, suitably portentous, and superlatively vocal. The heroes (or villains) of the Revolution, Mirabeau, Vergniaud, Danton, and Robespierre, not only acted; they talked. Indeed, their very talk was action. Their speeches, and the reception of those speeches, was something new. It was not the rabble alone that was being roused.

It is not surprising, then, that the rhetoric of the French Revolution has long excited the interest of historians and that the interpretation of the words has usually served as a step toward an interpretation of the acts.

Before our century, this did not have any startling consequences: historical opinion followed a predictable party line. Historians who hated the works of the Revolution hated its speeches; historians who admired the one admired the other. Edmund Burke, who set the fashion in this as in so many other notions about the Revolution, spoke for the prosecution as early as December 1791, when he condemned a belligerent speech of Brissot's as "full of false philosophy and false rhetoric, both . . . calculated to captivate and influence

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the vulgar mind. . . ."¹ Through Thomas Carlyle's indigestible pages, the revolutionary orators wander, filled with abstract theories, spouting the unrealistic gospel of Jean-Jacques, orating dully, but exercising a fascination that no self-respecting man could understand, let alone share. Of the Jacobin Club, central arena for rhetoricians, Carlyle exclaims: "Its style of eloquence? Rejoice, Reader, that thou knowest it not, that thou canst never perfectly know. . . . impassioned, dull-droning Patriotic-eloquence; implacable, unfertile—save for Destruction, which was indeed its work: most wearisome, though most deadly."²

In different language, but with the same aversion, Hippolyte Taine stigmatized the Jacobins as hypocritical and murderous orators, who concealed, or rather revealed, their maniacal lust for power with false eloquence: "Whatever the charlatan can do with his labels, sign-boards, shouting and lies for the next six months, will be done to disguise the new nostrum," that is, the Jacobin Constitution of 1793. "All is mere show and pretence. Some of the workmen are shrewd politicians whose sole object is to furnish the public with words instead of things; others, ordinary scribblers of abstractions, or even ignoramuses, and unable to distinguish words from things, imagine that they are framing laws by stringing together a lot of phrases.—It is not a difficult job; the phrases are ready-made to hand."³

For the defense, Jules Michelet singled out the National Assembly for its wealth of orators and praised Robespierre for embodying the true principles of the Revolution and the true desires of the French people.⁴ H. Morse Stephens, who published a valuable collection of revolutionary speeches over half a century ago, begins his general introduction with the observation that "The French people have as much cause to be proud of their orators as of their actors,"⁵ and sprinkles his commentary with approving epithets. And F.-A. Aulard, good republican and historian of revolutionary oratory, thought that revolutionary eloquence filled "a glorious page in our literature,"⁶ and sought to awaken his contemporaries to the more admirable points in the speeches of the modern French heirs of Demosthenes and Cicero.

But all this changed a couple of generations ago, with the invasion of the historical discipline by the social sciences. The spectrum of opinion has narrowed. Apart from a handful of stubborn exceptions like Georges Lefebvre,

¹ Edmund Burke, *Thoughts on French Affairs, Works* (12 vols., Boston, 1866), IV, 374.

² Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution* (New York, n. d.), 254.

³ Hippolyte Taine, *The French Revolution*, tr. John Durand (3 vols., New York, 1931), III, 5.

⁴ See Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française* (9 vols., Paris, 1883-87), I, *passim*.

⁵ *The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution, 1789-1795*, ed. H. Morse Stephens (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1892), I, 1.

⁶ F.-A. Aulard, *Les orateurs de l'Assemblée constituante* (Paris, 1885), 3-4.

liberal historians have joined nostalgic royalists in condemning revolutionary rhetoric in tones of condescending amusement or unrelieved horror.⁷

In challenging this prevailing view, I do not mean to offer still another defense of the French Revolution. The Revolution has its defenders, and not all of them live in East Germany. I want, instead, to raise a question of method. The last generation looked hopefully to "the new history"; this generation is being confronted by what William Langer called, in his presidential address, "the next assignment": to use the techniques and insights of allied disciplines to illuminate our own, and to illuminate without blinding it.⁸ I want to argue that this has not yet been done in the study of the French Revolution.

The current view of the relation of rhetoric to action in the Revolution may be summarized, that is, caricatured, as follows: Robespierre lost his Christian faith early and substituted destructive revolutionary enthusiasm for it. In his youth he read Rousseau who had read Plutarch in his youth; this reading created in Robespierre's mind the picture of a supremely desirable commonwealth, where Spartan youths allow foxes to eat out their insides with no sound of complaint. Laboring on the Committee of Public Safety to create utopia in France, he found that there were many foxes, but only one true Spartan—himself. Driven mad by this discovery he set about to convert Frenchmen into Spartans, even if he had to kill them all in the process.

When we examine this construction closely, we find that it is a three-count indictment: revolutionary rhetoric displays the secular religion of the reign of virtue; it is burdened with the nightmarish weight of the cult of antiquity; and it is disfigured by an ugly, self-satisfied bombast, the sign of bloodthirsty fanaticism. These counts, it is worth noting, have no necessary logical connection, but historians treat them as if they do and cite them all to justify a single verdict. Revolutionary rhetoric, they tell us, condemns the revolutionaries for acting unpolitically, at least as utopians, at worst as early totalitarians.

In establishing the first count, historians have fondly reread Burke and Alexis de Tocqueville. Burke first denounced "political theologians" in his *Reflections on the French Revolution* and later compared events in France to the Reformation. "*It is a revolution of doctrine and theoretic dogma*," he wrote. "It has a much greater resemblance to those changes which have been

⁷ Thus Lefebvre could write about Robespierre's violent denunciation of a representative on mission, made in an improvised harangue to the Convention on September 25, 1793: "Je ne puis relire cette page sans une émotion frémissante." "À la mémoire de Maximilien Robespierre," in *Maximilien Robespierre, 1758-1794: Beiträge zu seinem 200. Geburtstag*, ed. Walter Markov (Berlin, 1958), 13-14.

⁸ William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (Jan. 1958), 283-304.

made upon religious grounds in which a spirit of proselytism makes an essential part."⁹ Tocqueville gracefully elaborated Burke's observation in his book on *The Old Regime*, whose incisive formulations still haunt us. "The French Revolution," said Tocqueville, "though ostensibly political in origin, functioned on the lines, and assumed many of the aspects, of a religious revolution." It was abstract, missionary, carrying the good news to all mankind, promising "regeneration of the whole human race."¹⁰

This religious analogy was so persuasive that even Michelet, Aulard, and Albert Mathiez could not escape its magic. In this country it was wittily naturalized by Crane Brinton in his dissection of the Jacobins and in his later books on the revolutionary period. Offering a bouquet of nauseating appeals to virtue, stilted oratory, misplaced classical allusions, and reminiscences of Christian ritual, doctrine, and turns of phrase, Brinton concluded that Jacobin "emotions must be accepted as a variety of religious experience."¹¹ His conclusion has set the tone for American scholarship. Many historians have imitated Brinton's dryly tolerant sociology, which claims to be scientifically detached, but is morally involved, and which resembles the odd spectacle of a disillusioned surgeon commenting with some disgust on the looks of his charity patients.

For all its plausibility, the notion of secular religion raises questions. It is one of those happy, evocative phrases that writers like to use to produce a shock of recognition. But what does it mean?

That there are activities not ostensibly religious that elicit behavior commonly associated with religious convictions is admittedly a suggestive notion. Men, we say, are "devoted" to their cause, "enthusiastically" support a program, and "faithfully" attend meetings, but the gains achieved by this phraseology, real as they are, have by now been assimilated into our store of historical knowledge; it is time to count up the losses. It carries too much weight, much of it contraband.

To begin with, its use of "religion" is special and restricted. It is taken to mean enthusiasm, intolerance, visionary optimism. But there are forms of religious behavior that do not fit this definition, and conversely, there are forms of behavior quite obviously nonreligious that do fit it—the conduct of organized mobs, of crowds in a panic, of adolescents, and of a variety of

⁹ Burke, *Thoughts on French Affairs*, Works, IV, 319.

¹⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, tr. Stuart Gilbert (New York, 1955), II, 13.

¹¹ Crane Brinton, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History* (New York, 1930), 205. See also his *A Decade of Revolution, 1789-1799* (New York, 1934), Chap. VI, "The Republic of Virtue"; and *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York, 1957), Chap. VII, "Reigns of Terror and Virtue."

psychological cripples from compulsive neurotics to paranoiacs. The evidence offered to prove its existence, moreover, is far from conclusive. Revolutionaries (to borrow Brinton's acidulous summary) may intone "a republican invocation beginning 'Chaste daughter of the heavens, O Liberty'; a republican salutation, 'I salute you, *Sans culottides*, revered name'; a republican credo, 'I believe in a Supreme Being, who has made men free and equal'; and 'republican Ten Commandments'. . . . A 'patriotic sign of the cross' in the name of Marat, Lepeletier, Liberty, or Death appears in several provinces. . . . The list of such practices is endless, reaching its height perhaps at the 'miracles' achieved by the 'Holy Guillotine.'"¹²

There is no mystery about these doings. Some are avowedly religious acts of revolutionaries who are far from being atheists and who seek to celebrate the Supreme Being in an august manner. But other activities reflect no more than the depths of poor taste reached by obscure and half-educated men suddenly propelled into positions of public responsibility—or at least audibility. It takes much self-discipline to rise above such childish malice as winning a war with Liberty Cabbage and without Wagnerian opera. All too many republican gestures were clumsy farces, revealing the unprepossessing visage of long-repressed hatred; while the widespread use of phrases with religious connotations proves no more than the ease with which the revolutionaries used familiar metaphors, the poverty of their linguistic treasure house, and the dehydration of religious terminology. There is no irony, except a verbal one, in saying that a Parisian Jacobin "religiously" attended dechristianization meetings. It may be that this Jacobin had been a Christian in his youth and that his new activity is a surrogate for the old, but we minimize, or we obscure, the significance of his conversion when we call him "really religious."

But, one may insist, if Jacques Hébert proclaims his atheism, but paints, in the same oration, a dazzling picture of man's total and immediate regeneration, should we not call his views "messianic," his expectations "apocalyptic," and his ideals, in short, "religious"? Is not politics the art of the possible?

It is, but it is harder to define the possible than the cliché suggests. Usually, it emerges after, not before the act; success defines the bounds of realism. When on September 2, 1792, Danton exhorted the faltering Legislative Assembly to stay in Paris and face the allied invaders—"il nous faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace"—all the realists were against him, and yet events proved Danton right. Ever since Robespierre argued in Febru-

¹² *Id.*, *A Decade of Revolution*, 157. I am indebted to Henry L. Roberts for first arousing my suspicions of this notion of "secular religion." See his report to the Council on Foreign Relations, *Russia and America* (New York, 1956), 19: "it must be admitted that a 'secular religion' is not an altogether obvious entity."

ary 1794 that the state was a school for character, realists have shuddered at his utopianism. Yet events did not wholly belie Robespierre's call to virtue. The France of Thermidor, as R. R. Palmer observes, could have used a little more virtue.¹³ It is hard to know whether an orator is a utopian, charlatan, or statesman. The utopian treats the impossible as possible, the charlatan creates the illusion that the impossible is possible, and the statesman converts the impossible into the possible. The notion of a "secular religion" does not help us to decide where to place the revolutionaries in this spectrum, for it pre-judges the issue. It does more by suggesting a psychological paternity that either does not exist or, when it does exist, is not very important. All we can safely conclude from this fervent language and these fervent hopes is that the revolutionary generation was groping for new forms of address, of celebration, of social control, with a limited fund of ideas and with an unslakable thirst for sociability.

The second count of the indictment, like the first, is not new. As Harold T. Parker shows in his valuable monograph, the notion that the revolutionaries paid rhetorical tributes to a "cult of antiquity" was first advanced in the Revolution itself.¹⁴ But it is only recently that it has been included among the accepted generalities of historians. Revolutionary orators, we are told, were prevented from seeing their world steadily and clearly because they adored antiquity and submitted without murmur to a tyranny of Rome over France, of Sparta over Paris. Historian after historian has depicted dreamy orators, steeped in Plutarch, seeking to impose ideals that had never existed on a society that could not use them. I trust that I shall not be excommunicated for questioning this tenet of our creed.

The theory that idealized images or reference groups shape political action is a valuable contribution of sociology to history. But Parker's statistical information about allusions to antiquity suggests that the only flaw of his study is its title. He should have called it "The Neglect of Antiquity of the French Revolutionaries." For it reveals a surprising paucity of allusions to ancient philosophers or rhetoricians. Here are hundreds of revolutionaries, most of them with solid classical educations, giving thousands of speeches and writing thousands of articles. Yet Parker could discover only eighty-three references to Cicero, everyone's favorite. Horace (hardly a fanatic) and Plutarch

¹³ See R. R. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled: The Committee of Public Safety during the Terror* (Princeton, N. J., 1941), 279.

¹⁴ Harold T. Parker, *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: A Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit* (Chicago, 1937). I want to emphasize that when I deny the cult of antiquity, I am far from denying the impact of pagan philosophy on the Enlightenment. But the influence of Cicero, Seneca, Horace, and Lucretius, powerful and subtle as it was, did not amount to a cult, but to a renewal of pagan styles of thought. I intend to spell out the significance of this modern paganism in a forthcoming book.

came in second with thirty-six references each. Rousseau, often considered the favorite transmitter of the classical cult, was cited only nine times.¹⁵

It might be argued that counting is so crude a sieve that the impact of the imaginary past would slip through the meshes. But qualitative tests are as unimpressive as quantitative ones. Not all the men who admired the ancients became revolutionaries; not all the revolutionaries admired the ancients. Some despised the imperfect primitive institutions of antiquity as not worth imitating; some adored it as a lost Garden of Eden impossible to imitate; some, like the notorious cultist Madame Roland, lost interest in antiquity before the Revolution. Only a few of the revolutionaries truly qualify as members of the cult.¹⁶

And it was, in religious language, a Protestant rather than a Catholic cult. There was no authoritative doctrine; private judgment ran wild. Each believer found support in antiquity for his own position. Camille Desmoulins used Tacitus to discredit the Terror; Louis Saint-Just used Lycurgus to support it.¹⁷ Madame Roland and Robespierre, implacable enemies, both greatly admired Rousseau, one of the few tastes they had in common.

Still, pagan antiquity flavored revolutionary rhetoric and in a few instances, as with Robespierre, may have influenced policy. But I suspect that the relation of antiquity to the revolutionaries runs counter to the accepted view. Far from imposing itself on docile disciples, far from dictating impractical goals to impractical orators in search of a blueprint, antiquity served as a kind of attic, to be pillaged at will. It was accessible because classical education was widespread among leaders and some of their audience; it contained stuff worth appropriating because the revolutionaries were deliberately rejecting their Christian heritage and their traditional institutions and creating new institutions which needed impressive names and high-flown justifications. Far from being dominated by the past, the revolutionaries dominated it.

From condemnation of Plutarch worship to condemnation of bombast is only one step, and that a short one. Proof for one is often taken as proof for the other: when Brinton cites Madame Roland's calling herself "Cato's wife" and Brissot, to whom she is writing, "Brutus," he may be stigmatizing the cult of antiquity, revolutionary pretentiousness, or both.¹⁸

Much of the rhetoric is admittedly appalling. To say nothing of Marat's bloodthirsty demagoguery, many of the speeches were choked by grandiose sentiment, cheap fervor, and complacent moralizing. A Jacobin from Le

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 148-49.

¹⁸ Brinton, *A Decade of Revolution*, 155 n.

Havre, rescued from deserved obscurity by Brinton, exhorts his fellow club members to carry on the war "until the children of the Mountain have flown the flag of liberty on the walls of London, Madrid and Berlin." Another orator apostrophizes equality: "It is thou, O holy Revolution, who hast brought us happiness; it is thou whom I should love with all my strength, whom I should defend with my life-blood, that thou mayest triumph over the tyrants banded against thee!"¹⁹

The more prominent revolutionaries rarely reach higher levels of taste than this, and only a few of them, like Mirabeau, spoke with an eloquence reflecting good taste. Listen to Vergniaud's irresponsible warmongering: "Gentlemen, above all you may be sure that the kings are not without uneasiness; they know that there are no Pyrenees for the philosophic spirit which has given us liberty; they would shudder to send their soldiers to a land still burning with that sacred fire; they would tremble lest a single day of battle turn two hostile armies into a people of brothers [applause]."²⁰

Or the terrifying, laconic cruelty of Saint-Just denouncing the proscribed Girondin deputies: "All the prisoners are not guilty; the largest number of them are only misguided; but as in a conspiracy the safety of the country is the supreme law, you were compelled to sacrifice the freedom of a few to the salvation of all; the prisoners, like the Court, made war on the laws through the laws. Nothing resembles virtue so much as a great crime. . . ."²¹

Or the pedantic self-satisfaction of Robespierre: "I too was Pétion's friend; when he unmasked himself I abandoned him. I too was acquainted with Roland; he committed treachery and I denounced him. Danton wanted to take their place, and he is no more in my eyes than an enemy of the country [applause]."²²

Granted that this is uncongenial rhetoric. But what does it prove? Does it unmask the orators as impractical or unpolitical? Some reservations suggest themselves at once. The purple prose I have quoted (and which is always quoted) was not the only style in use among the revolutionaries. J. M. Thompson observed that in the weeks preceding the expulsion of the Girondin deputies from the Convention, invective reached unprecedented heights. But after June 2, 1793, "suddenly, oratory was put aside, and the debates became cold and businesslike."²³

There is amusing evidence, moreover, that bombast bored almost as many

¹⁹ *Id.*, *The Jacobins*, 151, 155.

²⁰ To the Legislative Assembly, Oct. 25, 1791, on the *émigrés*, *Principal Speeches*, ed. Stephens, I, 257-58.

²¹ To the Convention, July 9, 1793, *ibid.*, II, 476.

²² To the Convention, Mar. 31, 1794, on the arrest of Danton and the Dantonists, *ibid.*, 388.

²³ J. M. Thompson, *The French Revolution* (New York, 1945), 414.

as it aroused. Brinton cites example upon example of good sense among Jacobins, of clemency, good nature, moderation, and even humor, which is usually the first casualty in heated controversy. The Jacobin Club of Montignac deserves to be remembered for an entry in its minutes. As Brinton records, "The order of the day brings next the reading of the report of M. Robespierre on the connection between religious and moral ideas and republican principles; and hardly does the reader achieve the middle of the report when, the room being quite deserted, the president adjourned the meeting."²⁴

We might remember, too, that while the revolutionaries probably produced more bombast per cubic inch than other mortals, their love of the high style was not unique. The most eloquent of the *émigrés* used the same excited images and made the same hyperbolic threats as their bitterest persecutors; and rounded periods had magical powers over the public in other countries. The rhetorical talents that made for success in revolutionary France made for success in counterrevolutionary England; the oratory that moved Parisians moved Philadelphians.

Clearly, then, the metaphor of a secular religion, evidence of a classical cult, or repellent phrases do not, singly or together, constitute an adequate interpretation of revolutionary rhetoric. We must begin again.

When we look at revolutionary oratory without these preconceptions, it appears as the confluence of four streams: the tradition of eloquence, which did not depend on revolutionary events; ideology, which helped to shape revolutionary events; mental predispositions among the leaders, which refracted and distorted revolutionary events; and the revolutionary events themselves.

I have already said something about the tradition of eloquence. Let me add that revolutionary rhetoric is part of a great history, far wider than the Revolution itself. In France that history was long and glorious, and the orators of the Revolution were, for the most part, trained in its shadow. We can detect in their speeches the three traditional branches of rhetoric: pulpit, legal, and academic oratory. The orators had in their revolutionary bones the great models whose most celebrated speeches they had practiced and admired in school. An orator standing before the Convention faced several exacting audiences: his fellow revolutionaries on the floor; the public in the gallery; an impressive network of Parisian and provincial clubs which looked for polished performances and demanded orations that did not stray too far

²⁴ Brinton, *The Jacobins*, 226.

from the familiar patterns; and an invisible audience, not posterity of which too much has been made, but the past—a powerful group of French rhetoricians, l'Hôpital, Massillon, Bourdaloue, and Bossuet. The Revolution offered hundreds of lawyers, petty officials, and former priests, large, influential, and half-captive audiences, brilliant occasions for talk, and exciting opportunities to approach, if not surpass, these great orators. It is no wonder that most revolutionary orations were meticulously composed, written to be published, and delivered with loving care. They certainly sound that way.

The second strand, ideology, demands more exhaustive analysis than is possible here, or than it has ever been given. The prevailing view is expressed in its most emphatic form by J. L. Talmon, who holds that the speeches of Saint-Just and Robespierre directly reflect the pernicious ideas of the philosophes and directly foreshadow the pernicious actions of the Terror, as well as later terrorists like Stalin or Mussolini. Even moderate historians who reject the parallels to the twentieth century see an unfortunate influence of philosophes on orators.

This view is unconvincing because it does injustice to the philosophes and it oversimplifies their effect on revolutionary ideology. The philosophes' hope for transforming the world was modest indeed. A radical like Holbach was a pessimist; even the dangerous Rousseau professed a Platonic theory of degeneration. If Rousseau's proposals for Corsica were what Talmon calls a "totalitarian blueprint," those for Geneva were moderate, and those for Poland, conservative.²⁵ To learn utopian optimism from the philosophes, the revolutionaries would have had to misread them completely.

But evidence is accumulating that they did not so misread them. The ideas of Voltaire, of the Encyclopedists, and of Rousseau played a relatively minor part in revolutionary speeches and thought. Nor were the philosophes the property of one wing. Robespierre had no monopoly on Rousseau. Even the *émigrés*, Alfred Cobban reports, found many of Rousseau's ideas appealing.²⁶ The relation of ideology to oratory offers a fruitful field for further research.

The third strand, the psychology of the leaders, offers equally exciting opportunities. Something has been done in the best biographies; and Georges Lefebvre took the first step to a theory of revolutionary mentality with his famous observation that "defensive reaction" is always followed by the "desire to punish." But most of the work remains to be done because historians have

²⁵ J. L. Talmon, *The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy* (Boston, 1952), *passim*. Talmon's book fully accepts the notion of the cult of antiquity.

²⁶ See Alfred Cobban, *In Search of Humanity: The Role of the Enlightenment in Modern History* (London, 1960), 168.

been as amateurish in their psychology as they have been dogmatic. They have usually subscribed to a psychology of simple realism, positing a clear-cut stimulus from the "real world" without, setting up a clear-cut response within. Such a psychology implies a judgment. When the historian finds an orator using language or proposing action that appears to be incongruous with the "true" situation, he accounts for the incongruity by a simple condemnation—the speaker must be a madman, a fanatic.

More sophisticated historians, of course, have been ready to build more complicated models. I have no intention of ridiculing them. Our sober profession can use much more playfulness than it has. But the trouble with practically all the playful suggestions that I have seen is that they leave untapped the great resources of psychoanalysis. Let me, playfully, tap them here.

Action results from a complex internal collaboration. Robespierre is advocating the harsh law of 22 Prairial. What forces work on him? The objective situation of plot and attempted assassination; the situation interpreted by his conscious mind; the conscious mind influenced by certain long-range political goals, certain short-range political pressures, and by unconscious needs and wishes. What is unconscious is hard to reach, but fortunately it leaves its telltale marks on expression. All the historian needs in order to understand those marks is sensitivity and an adequate psychological theory. It is the spring of 1794, the invaders are gone, and the Vendée is pacified. Why is Robespierre nervous and suspicious? There is frustration, and the rage it builds, frustration stemming from long-endured disappointments, and opportunity for long-postponed revenge. There is exhaustion, a physiological phenomenon with psychological consequences. When on 8 Thermidor Robespierre rose to make his last speech to the Convention, how deeply did he suffer from the depression that often follows superhuman exertions? How much sleep had he had for a year?

These questions suggest others, still more frankly speculative. What was the impact of Varennes? Here was a king who had preached, and whose forefathers had preached, that the monarch is the father of his country, fleeing that country in undignified disguise. Did the revolutionaries, far from resenting, cherish the grievance against the treacherous father? Certainly it allowed them to embark on a year of unexampled disobedience and justified parricide. And what was the impact of that parricide? The ever more frantic demand for unanimity, the ever-growing imputation of evil motives to dissenters suggests a terrible need to share guilt by associating all with the parricide, or better yet, to purify oneself by projecting guilt on others.

It is only an apparent paradox to say that the answers to such psychological questions cannot be found in psychology alone. They must be sought in politics, in day-to-day events.

The brilliant investigators who have undermined the grandiose syntheses of nineteenth-century historians have been, on the whole, patient empiricists. Their minute examination of the incidence of the Terror, of the political pressures of Parisian extremists, of the behavior of the revolutionary crowds have not dealt with psychology, but they have illuminated it. And they have not dealt with rhetoric, but they have illuminated *it* by substituting a living world where human beings address other human beings, for a cardboard stage where heroes and villains posture and declaim.

Revolutionary rhetoric took place in, and was meant to influence, a rapidly changing political situation. We know, but we need to be reminded, that the orators were under persistent and conflicting pressures. There were the crowds, anxious over the price of bread, filled with irrational hatred for "hoarders." They had to be gratified, kept under control, and enlisted to support the war effort. There were the professional revolutionaries, seeking to decentralize and intensify the Terror, often for shady reasons. They had to be exposed and anticipated by a centralized Terror which, terrible as it was, was clemency compared with the persecuting zeal of the agitators. There was the war, which needed troops, supplies, trustworthy generals, and a cause to fight for. There was the counterrevolution, which showed its hand in the occupied territories of the north, seeking to wipe out all revolutionary legislation. There was, finally, the young republic with new courts, new schools, new priests, a new calendar. Institutions had to be invented, administered, and staffed. The Revolution had to be explained and defended, so that rhetoric was an indispensable governmental activity.

It was a heady time, and one did not need to be a Wordsworth to be dizzy. The revolutionaries governed, on the whole, with astonishing success. They did make some grievous mistakes. They drifted into a war which they won, but which they might have avoided or at least postponed. They unavoidably alienated the peasants, but this might have been managed more adroitly. They failed to keep repression within sensible bounds. Their fanaticism was not, however, quasi-religious or pseudo-Spartan. It was less a permanent policy than a sporadic failure, a failure to act sensibly in the political situation.

And this failure must be understood through that situation itself. Politics is a late acquisition, a mature fruit of civilization, requiring renunciation of instinctual gratification. It runs counter to man's deepest need to strike out

against identifiable enemies. Politics, indeed, is a demanding activity. It requires suppleness, the ability to compromise, to fit means to ends (that is, to propound means for which ends are available), to temper principle for the sake of reaching agreement, to turn burning moral issues into administrative questions, to convert mortal enemies into amiable opponents, the duel into a debate. But such behavior, being the last hired, is also the first to be fired. The very situation that most demands coolness of judgment and moderation of oratory is least likely to give politics room to breathe. From 1789 on, the situation in France was a permanent crisis: these were the times that tried men's nerves.

To make things worse, politics labors under a built-in irrationality. It feeds on issues and opponents, on unsolved questions. If they do not exist, they are manufactured. In a settled system with spoils, prestige, power for the victors, and hope for the vanquished, this irrationality is not fatal. But in the French Revolution, where institutions were delicate, untried, and under relentless attack, regression to more primitive modes of behavior was inescapable. We should be surprised not at the regression but at its mildness.

I have tried to recall the world in which revolutionary rhetoric had its place. It is all too easy to forget it, in our time of concentration camps, mass manipulation of audiences, "double-think," and nihilistic fanaticism; it is all too easy to draw plausible analogies, to see Danton in Mussolini or Robespierre in Lenin. But such analogies, persuasive as they sound, are obstacles rather than ways to historical understanding. Caution without daring may be pedestrian, but daring without caution is irresponsible. We must speculate, but such speculation must grow organically from the material at hand, from the concerns of the time, not from the concern of our time. I am pleading, I suppose, for the higher naïveté. After all, as Sigmund Freud once said, there are times when a man craves a cigar simply because he wants a good smoke.

Comment on Gay

CRANE BRINTON*

THERE is a variety, *virginalis*, of the common shrub known as the mock orange, the double flower of which looks very much like one of the smaller white roses. There is a common weed, the bane, one of the banes of New England dairymen, known as hardhack, *spiraea tomentosa*, the inglorious spiky flower of which looks nothing like a rose. But to the botanical taxonomist, hardhack belongs to the rose family, and the mock orange to quite another family. The taxonomist makes his classifications according to numerous and quite definite criteria, which of course include flowering, but often do not include what I shall call in shorthand the "appearance" of the flower as such, the flower as the gardener, the florist, most of us, see it.

Now though I should guess that the difference between what Peter Gay makes of the French Revolution and what I make of it is rather more than a matter of taxonomy, it is certainly at the very bottom a matter of taxonomy. Our debate will, I think, be more manageable if in these few pages I concentrate on our disagreement over naming. Gay admits that there are similarities between the behavior of the Jacobins and the behavior of other groups we should all recognize as religious groups, but he does not think these similarities are of the determining kind that make it useful for us to classify the Jacobins as a religious group. The analogy with religion, he writes, "is admittedly a suggestive notion; there are activities not ostensibly religious that elicit behavior commonly associated with religious convictions. Men, we say, are 'devoted' to their cause, 'enthusiastically' support a program, and 'faithfully' attend meetings." But like the surface similarities between the flower of the mock orange and the flower of the rose, they are unimportant, and if pursued very far, misleading.

To me, on the contrary, what the Jacobins said and did during the great Revolution, though most of them would have found my use of the word "religion" for their behavior as misleading and erroneous as does Gay, seems to me most usefully described as a variety of religious experience. Under botanical analysis a sum total of items, of which some are obvious to common sense and sight, others by no means so, makes it seem useful to catalogue rose and hardhack—not to speak of strawberry and salsify—together in the

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rose family. Under historical analysis a sum total of items of human behavior, of which some are obvious to all of us, others by no means so, makes it seem useful to me at least to catalogue Jacobin and Christian—not to speak of Comtean Positivist, orthodox Marxist, and other practitioners of what M. Raymond Aron has so effectively analyzed as “secular religions”—under the rubric of believers in some kind of religion.

My comparison between botanists’ and historians’ use of taxonomy does break down in one very important respect: rose and mock orange, hardhack and strawberry cannot object to our putting them together under a common rubric; both Christian and Jacobin can and do object very much to being put together as religious believers, even though the specific differences in their beliefs are clearly pointed out. I am fully aware that my use of the word “religion” in this context is for many an impediment to acceptance of my analysis of this particular historical situation and, indeed, of other modern social revolutions. But some such impediment seems to me to arise from any substitute term—cult, creed, belief, faith, *Weltanschauung*, or even from such watered-down blanket terms as “attitudes,” “value judgments,” or “points of view.” There is no way you can even classify human beings, dead or alive, without offending some of them. I suspect that for Gay the word “religion” carries the fighting sense it had for Lucretius: *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*.¹

The title Gay has chosen for his suggestive essay, with much of which I am in full agreement, in itself almost shuts off the serious consideration of the comparison between Jacobinism and religion. For “rhetoric” is not a word that we usually associate with religion, not even with the ritualistic and homiletic phases of a religion we dislike. When we really wish to damn a religion or its practitioners as merely rhetorical we use a stronger word—hypocrisy. Rhetoric goes with politics, with some literary genres, and with such aspects of daily life as salesmanship and advertising, or perhaps even with teaching. But it does not go with religion, not even with that of the sects on the lunatic fringe. There is an element of rhetoric, for instance, in Robespierre’s speeches, as in many other Jacobin homilies. But I trust I have not written carelessly in *The Jacobins* or in *A Decade of Revolution* as if this fact were more than a mark of the fashionable tone of the Enlightenment, its “climate of opinion,” which made even a sermon sound like an essay.

¹ The most moderate and straightforward defense of the use of the term “religion” in a sense very close to my own use of it is in Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York, 1960), Chap. II, “The Religious Sense.” A more deliberately controversial defense of such use from within Enlightenment and pretty far outside Christianity is Gerhard Szczesny, *Die Zukunft des Unglaubens* (Munich, 1958); *The Future of Unbelief* (Eng. ed., New York, 1961).

More particularly, I did not mean in those two books to use the term "religion" as Gay says I do, in "a special and restricted" sense to mean "enthusiasm, intolerance, visionary optimism." I did indeed find these three elements in the records of the Jacobins, but I found much more in their behavior, specifically in their religious behavior. In the concluding pages of *A Decade of Revolution* I distinguished between what I there called, in what I now think are not altogether felicitous terms, "active" and "inactive" phases of a religion. During the great Revolution the Jacobins were in an active phase, in which "enthusiasm, intolerance, visionary optimism" are more conspicuous than they are in the inactive phase of a religion, but even at the height of the Terror, there was much more than these elements in the Jacobin faith.

In fact, I like to think that I am placing Jacobinism, along with that wider faith of Enlightenment of which it is a sect, in the same family, but not the same genus or species, with Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, for reasons quite as good as those which justify the botanist when he fits, to the satisfaction of his fellow botanists, a newly discovered specimen into the Linnaean system. I discern a whole cluster of important, verifiable elements which Jacobinism has in common with Christianity and other higher religions. These common elements are functional, in a sense formal, and appear only as a result of analysis. None, or very few, are identical in any two religions, and some of them may be as different as the flowers of the rose and the hardhack. Limited as my space has to be, I can best defend myself against Gay if I outline briefly this whole cluster of elements.

First, ritual. There is a sense, an important sense, in which there is an element of ritual in all human behavior, even in that of a solitary individual. But ritual has a great importance in holding groups, particularly large groups, together. Such ritual always has a high degree of traditional content. I think I have established clearly the existence of a Jacobin ritual as well as its historical background in relation to Christianity and the Enlightenment. This element alone would not make Jacobinism a religion, but no single element, not even the next one in my list, makes a religion.

Second, a cosmology or a satisfying explanation of the origin and nature of the universe and of man's place in it. The Jacobin held some form of the cosmology of the Enlightenment, which was never neatly expounded as is the Jewish and Christian in the Book of Genesis. J. H. Randall's expressive phrase "the Newtonian world-machine" gives as good a summary of it as any I know. It was not commonly among the Jacobins a "pure" materialism, but rather a conventional deism. The deists' god did not of course interfere with

the running of the world-machine. I do not know of any large human group that has got on without a cosmology. Even the expanding universe of our astronomers seems to me to be a cosmology, not really disguised by being called, scientifically, a cosmography.

Third, and closely related to the above, a teleology. The Christian teleology, a very complex one, is largely embodied in such concepts as original sin, atonement, grace, salvation. The Jacobin teleology, best summarized as progress, with reason doing the work of grace (see the article "philosophe" in the *Grande Encyclopédie*) remained vaguer and simpler than the Christian. Darwin later sharpened it immensely. An eschatology is perhaps no more than a special form of teleology; at any rate, all the higher religions have one. Everybody except the Marxist faithful seems nowadays to accept the classless society as the Marxist equivalent of the Christian heaven. But read the last pages of Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau des progrès de l'esprit humain* with its doctrine of "natural salvation," the individual immortality in this flesh on this earth, and you will recognize the eschatological touch. Once more, the concepts of heaven and utopia are not identical, but they are surely in some functions similar.

Fourth, ethics. I need hardly pursue this topic further. Ethics without religion is possible, but relatively rare. Jacobin ethics is consciously associated with group rituals, as I sought to show in *The Jacobins*. It is an ethical code closely related to Christian ethics. In this respect the whole religion of the Enlightenment is closest to conventional Christianity. But there remain significant differences.

Five, a church. Here one of the most difficult sets of problems in the modern history and sociology of religion confronts us. There is a sense in which the faith of the Enlightenment, optimistic, this-worldly but not without ascetic touches, at bottom charitable or at least altruistic, found its church in the nation-state. Certainly for the Jacobins their church was *la république une et indivisible*. The nation-state, however, is precluded by its very nature from the universalism the Enlightenment preached. From the great Revolution on, this universalism has conflicted with nationalist sectarianism, and nowhere more intensely than in France.

The above is indeed summary, and the subject is enormous. I have not even touched on the very important, but very complex, element of the emotional tones of religious experience. I am quite aware that I am extending the concept of religion beyond the bounds of what we commonly call theology. Indeed, I have deliberately avoided the element of formal theology in my list above. But on second thought I shall not make even this concession. The

religion of Enlightenment, an ersatz religion if you like, had its ersatz for a *theos* and a theology. In aspiration a monotheism, with a hypostasized Nature as its benign deity, and with an effective substitute for Satan conspicuously missing at the top of its hierarchy, it has, like Christianity, been accused of temporizing with polytheism. The Enlightened do indeed pay homage to lesser hypostasized deities such as Progress, Dialectical Materialism, Liberty, Science, Reason, and Democracy. There is even a substitute Olympus, in which Marianne, John Bull, the German Michael, Uncle Sam, the Russian (is he still a bear?), and many more intrigue and fight—usually at the expense of their merely human devotees—much as did the Olympians of ancient Greece.

All this last is, I trust, more than a private whimsy. For I have insisted on the element of religious behavior in the Jacobin record just because Jacobinism was in my opinion one of the first and one of the most important of the efforts made in modern times to supplant Christianity, to root it out and replace it. Surely only a religion can summon from men the profound and by no means wholly irrational energies required to destroy a religion.

Bulgarian Historiography, 1942–1958

MARIN PUNDEFF*

NATIVE Bulgarian history, important as it undoubtedly is, receives scant attention in the West.¹ Occasionally, a significant work may be reviewed in German, French, and, in isolated instances, British and American periodicals. On the whole the production remains unnoticed. In 1942 a Bulgarian medievalist, Ivan Duichev, who provided an appraisal of the preceding quarter of a century, made the most recent effort to survey Bulgarian historiography for Western readers.²

The period discussed here presents, as the political evolution of Eastern Europe suggests, a sharp contrast in underlying historiographic outlooks. The two years preceding Soviet occupation in 1944 show a historical production dominated by traditional forces and themes characteristic since Paisii's *Istoriia Slavianobolgarskaia* of 1762: intense nationalism, efforts at enhancing national consciousness and justifying national claims, middle-class values, and preoccupation with political history at the expense of economic and social subjects. Since historiography reflects the needs of time and place and certainly the power of local conditions, the pre-eminence of nationalistic themes and tone had been inevitable at a time when the nation reawakened, sought to establish its identity, and fought for its integrity. As feverish nationalism became discredited in military fiascoes, however, the demands for historical realism and the influences of Western scientific positivism, which the contacts established over the years with the historical science in the West were gradually introducing, made themselves increasingly felt. This turn away from romantic and often virulent nationalism to a painstaking search for facts and a high regard for sources and evidence was a major trend in Bulgarian historiography before both world wars and the attendant stresses.

The entry of the Soviet army in Bulgaria created a new environment in

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¹ For work done outside Bulgaria, see German, Russian, French, Italian, and English (except United States) lists in *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, I (1954), III (1956), IV (1956), and V (1957).

² Ivan Duichev, "Die bulgarische Geschichtsforschung während des letzten Vierteljahrhunderts (1918–1942)," *Südost-Forschungen*, VII (Dec. 1942), 546–73. Another appraisal was made in 1937 by Professor Philip E. Mosely, "Post-war Historiography of Modern Bulgaria," *Journal of Modern History*, IX (Sept. 1937), 348–66, discussing perceptively the writing of modern Bulgarian history after World War I. More narrowly focused articles have appeared in *Byzantinoslavica*, IX (1947–48) and *Revue des Études Byzantines*, VII (1950).

which Marxist ideology and Soviet methodology became the controlling factors. After an initial period during which politics rather than historiography held the attention of the Communist leaders, the party began to press for "eradication of harmful distortions" and for rewriting Bulgarian history from the Marxist point of view. While party stalwarts were installed in some positions controlling teaching and research, however, historians were largely left alone until 1948 when the party culture specialist, Vulko Chervenkov, moved to achieve *Gleichschaltung* in history as elsewhere. At a public discussion of the state of Bulgarian historiography under his direction, it was concluded that while the historians of the pre-1944 period had made substantial contributions of factual value, mostly in medieval history, they had been beset by "methodological helplessness and backwardness," had avoided the question of forces determining the historical process, and had abandoned the field of contemporary history to the publicists; personalities and ideas rather than economics, class struggles, and masses had been stressed; ancient Bulgarian history had been perverted by obscuring the Slavic origins and thus seeking to reduce the sense of affinity to Russia; and Western periodization hardly fitting Bulgarian historical development had been slavishly adopted. Old regime historians who had survived the changes were warned to re-fashion their thinking and conform to Marxist ways if they were to keep their jobs in the transitional period while Marxist historians were being trained. The conference, and after it the Fifth Congress of the party, resolved that the compilation of a Marxist history of Bulgaria for use in instruction and ideological work was the most urgent task.

Entrusted to a small group of Marxists in the Institute of Bulgarian History of the Academy of Sciences, it took five years to complete the task. The draft produced in 1953 was so weak that the party ordered this "monastic cell method" of writing abandoned, and the draft was subjected to wide discussion. The president of the academy, Todor Pavlov, soberly admonished that it was necessary "to utilize the knowledge and experience of all specialists whether or not they are party members" and that "quotations from the works of the classics of Marxism, however useful and necessary in appropriate places, are not historical evidence."³ Non-Marxist historians who were drawn into the discussions recommended, in view of the lack of monographic bases for a synthesis, that the writing of a general text be postponed and, instead, efforts be made to clarify basic problems of Bulgarian historiography such as periodization and the nature of feudalism in Bulgaria. The draft was also extensively discussed by Soviet specialists in the Institute of Slavic Studies of

³ *Istoricheski Pregled* (No. 1, 1954). See also his *Za marksistka istoriia na Bulgariia: Statii, dokladi, izkazvaniia, retsenzii, 1938-1954* (Sofia, 1954).

the Soviet Academy of Sciences, which had been similarly commissioned to produce a Marxist history of Bulgaria. In the end, the hard view prevailed that, however inadequate, a Marxist history must be produced and that subjects lending themselves to fundamental Marxist reinterpretation should be kept out of the hands of nonparty historians.

The product that materialized and now represents the only large-scale attempt to synthesize the whole sweep of Bulgarian history bears the signs of haste, ideological pressure, and disregard of Western research. Confronted with the baffling problems of meaningfully periodizing Bulgarian history, the editors have simply adopted the Marxist schema of the Soviet product, fitting the historical development of the country into the standard four economic stages of Marxist doctrine: primitive communal and slave-owning stage (to A.D. 679), feudalism (679-1878), capitalism (1878-1944), and socialism (1944-). Constructed on this common skeleton, the Bulgarian and Soviet versions differ only in the division between volumes and the space devoted to feudalism. While the Soviet version gives short shrift to Bulgarian feudalism and takes the Russian revolution of 1917 as the great dividing point of Bulgarian history, the Bulgarian version deals extensively with the feudal period in stages of early feudalism, advanced feudalism, and Turkish rule and sees the watershed in the war of 1877-1878.⁴

A basic problem besetting Marxist historiography has been the role of the great man. While Stalin was alive it was unquestioned that the great man must be given a dominant place in the historical account. With the change of the line in the Soviet Union, however, an adjustment became necessary. In Bulgaria the new position was defined by Todor Pavlov who explained that, although the primary determining role was played by masses and classes, "as Marxist-Leninists we would make an error in the opposite direction if we deny absolutely any and all significance to the individual in human history . . . lately [, however,] matters have taken such a turn that today we must above all stress the danger of exaggerating the role of the individual and underestimating that of the popular masses."⁵ Pavlov also drew attention to the disturbing phenomenon of withdrawal to safe topics of the past. Many historians, like their colleagues in other fields, he felt, "turn in their studies primarily to topics of the past" and avoid controversy, "while contemporary topics are given 'on concession' as it were to a limited group

⁴ Dimitur Kosev *et al.*, *Istoriia na Bulgariia* (2 vols., Sofia, 1954, 1955); P. N. Tret'iakov *et al.*, *Istoriia Bolgarii* (2 vols., Moscow, 1954, 1955). The Soviet version was reciprocally discussed by Bulgarian historians and criticized for unevenness, lack of concrete materials, and generalized narrative.

⁵ Todor Pavlov, "Zadachi na marksicheskata istoriia na Bulgariia" in *Vuprosi na razvitiето na Bulgariia po putia na sotsializma* (Sofia, 1954).

of people." The problem, however, has been easier to state than to deal with; the tendency to withdraw to the safety of the distant past is persisting.

In the years since the publication of *Istoriia na Bulgariia* it has been generally admitted that the work's primary value is in focusing attention on unsolved problems and on the extensive gaps in the monographic literature whether of pre-1944 or post-1944 stamp. In the same years the emergence of young historians has been noteworthy even though they are vociferously Marxist, while the intellectual climate and circumstances needed for objective effort have perceptibly improved. As the tasks ahead have been defined, Bulgarian historians are expected to go on to a deeper study of the periods of feudalism and capitalism; fuller illumination of the struggle for liberation in the nineteenth century and of the class struggles in the periods of Turkish rule and capitalism; more detailed treatment of the questions of the revolutionary labor movement, the peasant movement, and the history of the party; initiation of more systematic study of relations between Bulgaria and other countries, particularly the USSR and the neighboring states; and better efforts at unearthing and publishing the sources of medieval, modern, and contemporary history of Bulgaria. The Seventh Congress of the party also called for increased coordination of effort under central direction and an over-all plan listing the outstanding historiographic problems and assigning tasks and priorities.⁶

The main center of historical research and publication in the country is the Institute of Bulgarian History of the Academy of Sciences within its Division of Philosophy, History, Pedagogy, and Archaeology.⁷ The institute publishes *Istoricheski Pregled* (bimonthly), the only historical journal in the country, and *Izvestiia na Instituta za Bulgarska Istoriia* (irregular) and the occasional *Trudove na Instituta za Bulgarska Istoriia* and *Dokumenti za Bulgarskata Istoriia*. The division also incorporates a Botev-Levski Institute, headed by Professor Mikhail Dimitrov, with responsibility for research on the two major revolutionary personalities as well as the entire field of the national revival before 1878. It publishes *Izvestiia na Instituta Botev-Levski*

⁶ Dimitur Kosev, "Istoricheskaia nauka v Bolgarii v 1956-1957 godakh," *Voprosy istorii* (No. 7, 1958); *Istoricheski Pregled* (No. 4, 1958). Organizationally, this may be a problem. Bulgarian historians have no general association except a "National Committee of Bulgarian Historians" established in 1956 (Dimitur Kosev, president) for channeling relations with historians and historical associations and institutions abroad.

⁷ The institute was established in 1947 under Professor Ivan Snegarov who was succeeded in 1950 by Kosev. It currently has a staff of twenty-seven scholars and forty associates and operates in sections for ancient and medieval history, modern and contemporary history, sources and bibliography (with editorial committees for Greek, Latin, Slavic, Turkish, and Jewish sources), history of relations between Bulgaria and other countries, and Byzantology and Orientology.

(irregular). Within the academy there is an Archaeological Institute under the direction of Krustiu Miiatev which publishes *Izvestiia na Bulgarskiiia Arkheologicheski Institut*. Eight volumes of this work have appeared since 1942.⁸ Outside the academy historical research is carried on in the history department of the University of Sofia (the department publishes *Godishnik na Sofiskiiia Universitet, Filosofsko-Istoricheski Fakultet*, of which fifteen volumes have appeared since 1942), the Higher Party School (the party maintains an "Institute of History of the Bulgarian Labor Movement and Communist Party" which publishes *Izvestiia na Instituta po Istoriia na BKP* and is known to be preparing a comprehensive history of the labor movement in Bulgaria), and the Military-Political Academy. Significant work has also been done in the Division of Military History of the Ministry of National Defense, which publishes *Voенно-Istoricheski Sbornik* and has announced the preparation of a large study of Bulgaria's part in the operations against Germany in World War II.

Bibliographic information has continued to be well organized and readily available. The Bulgarian Bibliographic Institute, headed by the noted bibliographer Professor Todor Borov, publishes two monthly national bibliographies, *Bulgarski Knigopis* (for books, pamphlets, and dissertations⁹) and *Letopis na periodichniiia pechat* (for periodicals); together they provide a reliable guide to historiographic work in the country.¹⁰ In addition, several bibliographies of varying utility to historians have been published. The most comprehensive is Manio Stoianov, *Bulgarska vuzrozhdenska knizhnina* (Sofia, 1957), describing all Bulgarian publications from the printing of the first Bulgarian book in 1806 to 1878. Limited in time covered, but exhaustive, is the joint Soviet-Bulgarian bibliography for 1944-1952, *Narodnaia Respublika Bolgariia: Istoricheskaia Bibliografiia* (2 vols., Moscow, 1954, 1958). Archaeology and allied fields have also been exhaustively covered by the excellent work of Sonia Georgieva and Velizar Velkov, *Bibliografiia na bulgarskata arkheologiia, 1879-1955* (Sofia, 1957), which is very useful for general history as well. All publications of the academy for 1869-1955 and the Uni-

⁸ Olga Raleva, *Bulgarskata akademiia na naukite sled 9 septemvri 1944: Spravochna kniga* (Sofia, 1958). For a complete bibliography of academy publications for 1869-1955, see Emilia Subeva and Mariia Stancheva, *Opis na izdaniata na BAN, 1869-1953* (Sofia, 1956), and *Katalog na izdaniata na BAN, 1870-1944* (Sofia, 1956), with supplement for 1944-1955 (Sofia, 1958).

⁹ Dissertations for the candidate's and doctor's degrees have been defended since 1953. For dissertations outside Bulgaria, see lists in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, I (1953), II (1954), III (1955), IV (1956), and VI (1958).

¹⁰ Tsenko Tsvetanov, *Bulgarska bibliografiia: Istoricheski pregled i dнешno sustoianie* (Sofia, 1957); Karol Maichel, "Bulgarian National Bibliography: A Historical Review," *Library Quarterly*, XXIX (Jan. 1959), 43-47. In the United States, current bibliographic information is supplied by *East European Accessions Index*, published monthly since 1951 by the Library of Congress and reflecting materials received by American libraries.

versity of Sofia for 1904-1946 are reflected in thoroughgoing tools.¹¹ A general bibliography of Bulgarian history, however, is still lacking.

The period surveyed has not lacked general histories or, at any rate, attempts at such. The most voluminous of these have been the Marxist histories discussed above. Other histories in the Marxist mold and showing the same weaknesses are *Kratka istoriia na Bulgariia* (Sofia, 1958), collectively written in the academy institute and intended for popular use; Dimitur Kosev's *Lektsii po nova bulgarska istoriia* (Sofia, 1951), which cover a limited period (1774-1879) in great detail and whose enlarged Russian edition contains a valuable bibliography; and Iono Mitev's *Kratka Istoriia na bulgarskiiia narod* (Sofia, 1951). Of the non-Marxist works, particularly noteworthy is the history of the medieval kingdoms by the late Professor Petur Mutafchiev, *Istoriia na bulgarskiiia narod* (2 vols., Sofia, 1943), although it pales when compared with the monumental work of the great V. N. Zlatarski, published earlier. Ivan Pastukhov, Nikola Stanev, Ivan Ormandzhiev, and Khristo Gandeve have also made efforts at synthesis.¹²

In archaeology and ancient history, the research published compares adequately with the notable work done in preceding decades. Several conferences of archaeologists have been held at the instance of the party, at which the work done in the past has been discussed from the Marxist point of view and the tasks of Bulgarian archaeology defined. These tasks include the preparation of a "history of the material culture and art of the tribes and peoples which populated the Bulgarian lands from earliest antiquity to late feudalism" and a complete inventory of extant monuments. Such a history has not yet been written, but a partial inventory has been compiled. Among the studies published, of particular interest is one by Vsevolod Nikolaev persuasively asserting that the Madara Horseman, an imposing relief of uncertain origin in northeastern Bulgaria, is a frontier marker of Darius Hystaspis of Persia, cut during his invasion of Thrace. This is an unpopular view with Slavophile historians who regard the monument as evidence of Bulgarian civilization in the Balkans.¹³

Promising strides have been made in the publication of ancient sources in the academy series entitled *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae*. Two volumes pub-

¹¹ See n. 8; Asen Kovachev, *Bibliografia na Sofiiskiiia Universitet "Sv. Kliment Ohridski," 1904-1942* (Sofia, 1943), with supplement for 1943-1946 (Sofia, 1947). On Library of Congress holdings of Bulgarian books published between 1806 and 1877, see Charles Jelavich, "Bulgarian 'Incunabula,'" *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*, XIV (May 1957), 77-94.

¹² No general history of Bulgaria has appeared in a Western language during the period, but sections of L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York, 1958), and its seventy-three-page bibliography are excellent.

¹³ Vsevolod Nikolaev's article is in *Byzantinoslavica*, X (1949), 42-58; Velizar Velkov et al., *Madarskiiat konnik: Prouchvaniia vurkhu nadpisite i relefa* (Sofia, 1956).

lished to date reproduce Greek and Latin texts down to the accounts of Ammianus Marcellinus, with translations. In ancient history Professor Khristo Danov's studies on the history of Thrace and the western littoral of the Black Sea and Professor Dimitur Krundzhalov's *Zemleni ukrepitelni suoruzheniia na Balkanskiia poluostrov i falshivata prabulgarska teoriia* (Sofia, 1948) on the origin of the earthen fortifications in Dobruja and Bessarabia, alleged to be constructions of the Turkic Bulgars, are notable. Krundzhalov defends the theory that these fortifications were built by the Romans and compare in detail with their frontier walls and trenches in Britain and elsewhere. The question of these fortifications' origins is also one of concern to Slavophile historians since their attribution to the Bulgars implies the cultural inferiority of the Slavs.

Important work without excessive Marxist verbiage has been done in medieval history which for Bulgaria is entwined with the history of the Byzantine Empire. Particularly impressive in this respect is the work of Professor Dimitur Angelov, a prolific scholar who has done numerous studies on feudalism in Byzantine lands, agrarian relations and dependent population in Macedonia and Thrace, economic conditions in medieval Bulgaria, and the Bogomile movement. The main results of his research in the agrarian conditions in fourteenth-century Macedonia have appeared as a monograph, *Agrarnite otnosheniia v severna i sredna Makedoniia prez xiv vek* (Sofia, 1958). Angelov has also studied the military roads and communication lines used in wars and diplomacy between Bulgaria and the Empire. A major contribution here is Shteriu Atanasov and others, *Bulgarskoto voenno izkustvo prez feodalizma* (Sofia, 1958), which is a detailed military history of medieval Bulgaria to the Turkish conquest. It contains over three hundred pages of primary sources, many translated for the first time.

Scantiness of sources has left many aspects of Bulgarian medieval history unclarified. The resulting inconclusiveness provides ample room for hypotheses and frequently leads to controversies. A perennial question that has caused heated controversy is the Christianization of the first Bulgarian state. The philologist and noted expert on Byzantine missionary work among the Slavs, Professor Emil Georgiev, has asserted that Christianity spread throughout the lands held by the Bulgars centuries before it was officially introduced by Prince Boris in 865 and that crude adaptations of the Greek script existed among the Slavs long before the Glagolitic script was devised by Cyril and Methodius when imperial policy required it. Professor Aleksandur Burmov has severely attacked this hypothesis. He propounds the Marxist view that a feudal order had come into being by the middle of the ninth century and

that it needed the sanction of the Church for its consolidation. As Burmov reads the sources, Christianity was introduced as a state religion by fiat from above and needed force to overcome pagan resistance. Georgiev, however, has remained firm, pointing out that the resistance which required use of force came, according to the same sources, from feudal lords who, as pagans, saw their position endangered by the conversion. Snegarov has entered the lists, taking the side of Georgiev. He argues that a dangerous religious dualism had developed from the settling of pagan Slavs and Bulgars on Christian territory and that the Bulgars were lagging behind the Slavs in conversion. Presenting a menace to the stability of the state, this dualism had to end and since reversion to paganism was out of the question, official adoption of Christianity was decreed. Georgiev's views have also found support in Duichev's findings that the work of Cyril and Methodius was preceded by efforts of other Byzantine missionaries and by popular adaptations of the Greek script due to the fact that Slavs and Greeks had coexisted for several centuries prior to the well-known developments surrounding the Moravian mission. Both Georgiev and Duichev have been highly praised for these contributions by the Soviet Slavist M. N. Tikhomirov.¹⁴

The period of rapid decline after the exhausting wars of Simeon likewise presents numerous problems of research and interpretation which have evoked much effort and some controversy. The great attraction of the period, of course, is the Bogomile movement with its wide ramifications in the prevailing feudal conditions, the growth of learning and ideas in the Bulgarian lands, and the propagation of Bogomilism westward to Bosnia, northern Italy, and southern France. A leader in Bogomile studies, Angelov has not hesitated to point out that Dimitur Blagoev and other Marxist commentators on Bogomilism are wrong in considering the movement solely a socio-economic protest. According to him, Bogomilism, like everything else at the time, was suffused with religion and should be regarded first and foremost as a religious movement. Interestingly enough, these views have not been expurgated in the subsequent Russian edition of his study.

A period of Bulgarian medieval history that demands attention is the Byzantine domination from 1018 to 1186. The problem of sources again imposes limitations which become less severe toward the end of the period and the beginning of the thirteenth century when Bulgarian history is intertwined with the Fourth Crusade, papal policy, and the Latin Empire at Constantinople. These far-reaching developments drew Bulgaria into the

¹⁴ M. N. Tikhomirov, "Nachalo slavianskoi pis'menosti v svete noveishikh otkrytii," *Voprosy istorii* (No. 4, 1959).

stream of Western European history for the first time and made important European sources useful to Bulgarian historiography. In the period surveyed, substantial contributions have been made in the translation and analysis of such Western sources as the chronicles of Henry de Valenciennes, Villehardouin, and Robert de Clari, and the correspondence of Pope Innocent III with the Bulgarian King Kaloian concerning Bulgaria's union with the Catholic Church in 1204. The work done in the succeeding period to the Turkish conquest is, however, of varying quality.

A long-neglected area, the Turkish rule (1393-1878), has been given much attention, some of it stemming from the determination of Marxist historians to explain the Bulgarian national revival in economic terms. Prominent among the volumes produced is a documentary collection, *Polozhenieto na bulgarskiiia narod pod tursko robstvo, dokumenti i materialii* (Sofia, 1953), edited by Nikolai Todorov, illustrating social and economic conditions under Ottoman rule. Work on Jewish sources at the academy has produced the first volume of documents on sixteenth-century conditions in the Balkans. A large-scale effort to publish foreign consular reports bearing on Bulgarian economic history, begun by Nikola Mikhov before the war, has yielded two more volumes containing Austrian and French consular papers. Another important series of the academy containing pertinent documents from foreign state archives has grown through the publication of three additional volumes of documents from Turkish and Austrian depositories.

Publication of other unknown materials such as travel accounts, personal papers, court records, reminiscences, and diaries has also advanced. Impressions of English travelers visiting Bulgarian lands between 1586 and 1878 are collated in a fine study by Michel Leo, *La Bulgarie et son peuple sous la domination Ottomane* (Sofia, 1949). Another notable contribution is the publication of the record of Vasil Levski's trial leading to his execution in 1873. Documents on the early beginnings of the academy and on the uprising of 1876 have also been made available in convenient collections. Prominent among the monographs on this period are the studies of the Patriarch of Bulgaria, Kiril, on personalities of the religious and cultural revival, evidencing fine scholarship; of Snegarov on the effect of the Turkish rule on the cultural development of the Bulgarian people; of Bistra Tsvetkova on taxes and levies; and of Shteriu Atanasov on peasant revolts at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A political general turned historian, Atanasov has provoked a heated controversy with his assertion that Osman Pazvantoglu, a Turkish potentate at Vidin who headed a separatist revolt, was a true fighter for the people's cause. Kosev, strongly disagreeing, has affirmed the

more traditional view that Pazvantoglu, like Mohammed Ali in Egypt, was nothing more than an adventurer who saw opportunities for himself in the breakdown of the Empire. Atanasov has found a supporter in Todor Pavlov who draws his arguments from the fact that Pazvantoglu had contacts with the Directory and Napoleon and had issued manifestoes in the phraseology of the French Revolution.

The work in the period 1878-1944 is equally impressive in volume, but studies weighted by Marxist or Russian bias are more frequent. In the category of reliable studies is another monograph by the Patriarch, *Suprotivata sreshtu Berlinskăia dogovor—Kresnenskoto vustanie* (Sofia, 1955), on the uprising in southwestern Bulgaria to protest the decisions of the Congress of Berlin and resist the Turkish reoccupation of the area. Quite typical of slanted works, on the other hand, is the study by the young Communist historian Goran Todorov, *Vremennoto rusko upravlenie v Bulgariia prez 1877-1879* (Sofia, 1958), on the Russian administration in Bulgaria. Laboring the currently fashionable theme of Russian selflessness, it exonerates the Russian administrators at every opportunity and ignores all Western research on the subject. King Ferdinand's policy in 1912-1918 has been re-examined by Professor Tushe Vlahov, who admits in his *Otnosheniata mezhdu Bulgariia i Tsentralnite sili po vreme na voinite, 1912-1918 g.* (Sofia, 1957) that the question as to "how and why the Austro-German agent Ferdinand concluded, at the suggestion of Russia, an alliance and military conventions aimed not only against Turkey, then patronized by Germany, but also against Austria and in the last analysis against Germany's imperialism, is still open." Rather than point out that Ferdinand was really serving Ferdinand, Vlahov strains the facts to fit the thesis that he was an Austrian agent. Although he has used some Western documentary collections, his research shows severe limitations in this vital aspect. Despite a ruddy coloration, valuable information has been developed by Khristo Khristov, *Revoliutsionnata kriza v Bulgariia prez 1918-1919* (Sofia, 1957); Veselin Khadzhinikolov, *Stopanski otnisheniia i vruzki mezhdu Bulgariia i Suvetskăia Suiuz do deveti septemvri (1917-1944)* (Sofia, 1956) on Soviet-Bulgarian economic relations; and Voin Bozhinov, *Politicheskata kriza v Bulgariia prez 1943-1944* (Sofia, 1957). Bozhinov had access to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs files and as a result makes public for the first time very important materials pertaining to the armistice negotiations between Bulgaria and the Western powers at Istanbul, Ankara, and Cairo. Markedly absent for this period are personal memoirs, revelations, and documentary collections. Most of the former political figures have been effectively silenced or driven into exile, and the Communist gov-

ernment, in contrast to the Agrarian administration after World War I, has not seen fit to publish documents on the activities of the World War II governments. The only volume of memoirs worth noting is Dimo Kazasov, *Burni Godini, 1918-1944* (Sofia, 1949). In surveys of sources, Ivan Panaiotov's excellent report on European diplomatic collections and archival holdings relating to Bulgarian history since 1878 stands alone.¹⁵

The history of the Macedonian question and other irredentist issues continues to show much effort invested, most of it still intensely polemical. Works published during the war while Bulgaria held areas contested with Yugoslavia and Greece are primarily vindictive; those published during the Communist period are reflections of the protean policy toward Tito and Titoism. Another special area heavily burdened with political bias is the field of Russian-Bulgarian relations which extend from the tenth to the twentieth century and have marked heights of friendship and depths of enmity. The extensive work done since 1944 serves mostly the purpose of validating the official thesis that Bulgarians and Russians are, and have always been, the best of friends. The studies of Snegarov and Nikolaev, however, are major contributions.¹⁶

A survey of the production of a sixteen-year period makes some general observations justifiable. The ideological virulence of the later 1940's has markedly subsided and the subordination of historiography to politics is not as crude now as it was then. History as a field, nevertheless, was opened at that time to a number of nonprofessionals, even though Communism did not mean the lowering of professional requirements for physicians, pharmacists, and others in vital areas. The invasion of the field by retired political commissars, party commentators, and propagandists created an unhealthy condition in which historiography still has to labor. Political bias and isolation from the West, furthermore, made the utilization of Western sources and research nearly impossible.

In recent years, however, there have been enough signs to suggest that admission to the history field is increasingly restricted to persons possessing appropriate professional qualifications and that the isolation from Western sources and scholarship may be modified in line with current Soviet policy permitting, for example, translation and use of select Western sources and

¹⁵ Ivan Panaiotov, "Pri izvorite na nai-novata bulgarska istoriia," *Godishnik na bibliografskiiia institut* (Sofia, 1947), 3-23.

¹⁶ Ivan Snegarov, *Dukhovno-kulturnite vruzki mezhdur Bulgaria i Rusiia prez srednite vekove* (x-xv v.) (Sofia, 1950) and *Kulturni i politicheski vruzki mezhdur Bulgaria i Rusiia prez xvi-xviii v.* (Sofia, 1953); Vsevolod Nikolaev, *Slaviano-bulgarskiiat faktor v khristianizatsiia na Kievskia Rusiia* (Sofia, 1949).

monographs. If an atmosphere of objectivity has been lacking, however, diligent, competent, and ingenious workers have not been. Under the circumstances the results have been substantial. It is quite obvious that, short of radical change in the political climate, the role Bulgarian historians can safely and conscientiously play is that of *Geschichtssammler* rather than that of *Geschichtsschreiber*. The experience with the shifting party line in regard to Tito, which cost quite a few Communists their lives and careers, should serve both as a warning and as a pretext to historians to resist being used as tools of politics.

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General

IN SEARCH OF HUMANITY: THE ROLE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT
IN MODERN HISTORY. By *Alfred Cobban*. (New York: George Braziller.
1960. Pp. 254. \$4.50.)

IN 1942, a year that may be considered as giving some justification for his title, the late Lewis Browne, a gifted popularizer of history, published a book, *Something Went Wrong: A Summation of Modern History*. It is unfair to Professor Cobban, a professional scholar of impeccable training and proven worth, to say that he might have used that title for this book. But at least as applied to his introduction and his conclusion such a comment, though a trifle malicious, would not be without justification.

In between, the body of this compact and very readable book is a survey of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thought about man as a political and moral creature. Cobban by no means writes one more student's handbook on the Age of Reason, going over the old well-trodden ground. He mixes with great skill the familiar and the less familiar, the old but essential quotations from the great men, and the apt and fresh ones from more obscure ones. He adds his own critical comments, his own explanations of how one idea affects another and the course of history. His brief paragraph of summation on Descartes is a model for this kind of historical writing.

So much for the meat of the book. It is sandwiched between two substantial sections, Parts I and V, which are frankly concerned with man's plight in the twentieth century, and which do come to the sweeping conclusion that "We have inherited everything else from the Enlightenment and forgotten the thing that was essential." That essential, Cobban holds, is a warm, serious, widespread public discussion of the problems of government and society seen as moral issues, or put slightly differently, a renewal of the great interest in political theory in its classical sense which we began to lose after the eighteenth century and have not recovered. We have, Cobban thinks, abandoned the study of how rationally established ethical concepts can be brought to bear on the planning and operation of political and social institutions; we have instead taken to existentialist and other despairing speculations about the cosmos and human psychology. We should "concentrate our attention on human behaviour rather than human nature" since "human nature has frequently been altered in the past and therefore presumably can be altered again."

So brief an analysis must be less than fair to Cobban's position. He seems, nevertheless, to be asking that we try to root out of our consciousness a hundred and fifty years of recent history, surely a rather strange position for a historian. "Back to X," even if the "X" is the Age of Reason, is the kind of slogan the historian ought to distrust. Use as smear words the terms "psychologism" and "sociologism" if you must, but grant that in these last hundred and fifty years we have learned that "human nature" and "human behaviour," like "conversion" or "education" of the individual and reform of institutions, are mutually reinforcing relations in a whole process of change which it is the historian's task to try to understand. If you still insist on an either . . . or, the historian will advise you to side rather with Thucydides than with the Plato who wrote the *Republic*—or with the Condorcet who wrote the *Esquisse*. The historian, even in revulsion against our contemporary "inverted Utopians," the Aldous Huxleys and the George Orwells, ought never to be a true utopian. In his conclusion Cobban is asking us to recover this utopian side of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the belief that human behavior can be infinitely changed—and changed by men of good will. It looks as though what we have been perhaps perversely trained to call "facts" stand in the way of accepting this conclusion.

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CRANE BRINTON

NATIONALISM: A RELIGION. By *Carlton J. H. Hayes*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. xi, 187. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Hayes calls the preface to this volume "A Personal Apology" and says there that "Most of my adult life has been devoted to observation and study of nationalism." He wrote a first article on the subject in the autumn of 1914, almost a half century before the publication of the book presented here in 1960. During these years, the author continues, he has "treated of nationalism in three books and part of a fourth; in numerous articles . . . and innumerable lectures; in graduate courses and seminars conducted for twenty-five years at Columbia University. . . ; and, most important, in directing, and profiting from, many masters' essays and some sixty or seventy doctoral dissertations on various phases of the subject." In this last volume Hayes largely omits "the scholarly apparatus which is the badge, and often the encumbrance, of 'scientific history,'" and, he adds, "The small number of references are mainly to writings of mine or of former students of mine. . . ." He terms the volume "simply a précis, a brief summing up, of what one person, through a lifetime of study, has conceived and learned about nationalism. . . ."

The title of the book should not mislead the prospective reader into assuming that this is a work such as De Maistre might have written, or a social scientist would write. It is a work of historical analysis, one with a thesis—that nationalism

is a religion, but one that organizes the discussion in chronological order. The author explains "What Nationalism Is," in Chapter 1, and in Chapter 11 what "The Religious Sense" is. Then, after two chapters about origins, he moves into a discussion of nationalism since the outbreak of the French Revolution, following the chronological division of political history as a framework for the treatment of his subject.

Those who are acquainted with Hayes's previous studies of nationalism (and who is not acquainted with them?) will find the present summary convenient and will recommend it especially to students. It is written with the compactness and clarity that helped to give the author's textbooks long life. I would like to call particular attention to the final chapter, "Reflections on the Religion of Nationalism." Almost thirty years ago, Hayes states in the preface, he wrote: nationalism "is so closely related to the whole complex of contemporary culture that any future change in its direction or intensity would seem to wait upon an alteration of other factors in the complex. . . ." He cites this statement with approval, and in the last chapter he discusses whether the "other factors" have altered. Hayes's conclusions are impressive and in some respects heartening ones by a man whose thought and judgment, like those of Cephalus in *The Republic*, are worthy of all respect.

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EUGENE N. ANDERSON

THE DEATH OF ADAM: EVOLUTION AND ITS IMPACT ON WESTERN THOUGHT. By *John C. Greene*. (Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1959. Pp. 388. \$4.95.)

The Death of Adam is a study, not of Darwin, but of Darwinism. "I have done my best," Greene states in the preface, "to trace the leading ideas which entered into Darwin's great synthesis." With impressive sweep he surveys the progress in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of various fields that contributed to the triumph of evolution. Cosmology, geology, anthropology, and biology are brought into the focus of a developing system of thought that made Darwinism possible. The title of the book is an indication of Greene's approach, *The Death of Adam*, not "The Birth of Evolution." That is to say, he treats the appearance of the idea of organic evolution as the product of the collapse of a traditional static world view. The conception of nature as a "law-bound system of matter in motion" held implications extending far beyond the conclusions drawn in the seventeenth century; in field after field it undermined belief in a fixed and eternal order. The concept of evolution was the reverse side of the shattered belief in the fixity of species.

Greene's basic theme, that evolution was implied in the conception of nature pronounced by seventeenth-century science, is a novel one. The excellence of the

work is such that an idea which I, for one, would have rejected out of hand asserts itself as a subject for serious discussion. I still retain, nevertheless, certain reservations. The seventeenth-century conception of nature, radically mechanical and antiorganic, would seem to lead to a doctrine of cyclical variation (which can be identical with the fixity of species) but not to one of ordered succession. While Greene makes a case for the contribution of the mechanical conception of nature to the theory of evolution, he does not, in my opinion, sustain the argument that it was the primary foundation. He has not adequately distinguished the religious from the philosophical issue. In so far as a "law-bound system of matter in motion" means a uniformitarian doctrine rejecting divine intervention in natural processes, his interpretation provides a valuable insight; in so far as it refers to a mechanical conception of nature, it does not appear to explain the development of biological ideas. It raises the further question of whether the appearance of Darwinism can be adequately explained with reference to the sciences alone. When the religious question bulks so large in the story, can the general secularization of European life during the same period be ignored? Can nineteenth-century metaphysics and historicism be omitted from a work concerned with the leading ideas that entered into the Darwinian synthesis? In a word, I am not convinced that the doctrine of evolution arose primarily from a working out of the implications in the mechanical conception of nature.

I do not wish to conclude on a negative note, nor would I pretend to refute an excellent book in a brief review. If I have challenged Greene's interpretation, it is on the assumption that good books deserve serious discussion more than bland praise. In setting the idea of evolution in the broader context of the growth of modern science, the very facet of the work with which I have taken issue performs a valuable function. Based on extensive scholarship and built with solid argument, it is an important contribution to the literature of Darwinism.

Grinnell College

RICHARD S. WESTFALL

POLITICS AND CULTURE IN INTERNATIONAL HISTORY. By *Adda B. Bozeman*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 560. \$10.00.)

Mrs. Bozeman has tried to present the development of international and intercultural political relations within and among the various literate civilizations up to about A.D. 1500. In particular, she has shown some ways in which the major cultural realms of today differ in their heritage of attitudes to international relations and has pointed up some of the more significant instances, before 1500, of effective international and intercultural integration. She stresses certain themes, notably three: the importance and feasibility, in intercultural relations, of finding norms independent of particular cultural or territorial circumstances; the

role of intellectual elites in setting the limits, through the type of norm they develop, within which their society will be able to evolve; and the misleading effects of the use of modern Western terminology of state, law, and diplomacy in many non-Western areas.

Though much that she says is somewhat conventional, her chief examples seem soundly developed and often suggestive. Among the cases where ideas have "become effective principles of international cohesion if they are tended responsibly by an internationally oriented and educated élite," she studies the diffusion of Buddhism outside India, the growth of the Roman law of contract, and the development of international law and the concept of a balance of power in the late medieval and Renaissance Occident. At the same time she recognizes the limitations of the cultural links produced by Buddhism between India and China and stresses the importance of concrete international political circumstances in the development of Roman law. In classical Islam she cites a case where an intellectual elite played a negative role in clinging too exclusively to an ideal of perfection. She seems most at home in medieval European material, especially legal and diplomatic history. Here she insists on the validity, in terms of internal cultural patterns and of international position, of the diplomacy of Byzantium, of Venice, of Florence and the Renaissance Italians, and of fifteenth-century Western Europe. Unfortunately, she rarely gives illustrative examples showing unambiguously the decisive effects of the ideas of the intellectual elites described; too often she makes little more than generalizations about the total subsequent cultural situation, hard to trace surely to the intellectuals' activity.

Worse is her inadequate grasp of the non-Western cultures. The bulk of the book concerns Eastern and Western Europe; what she does say of China, the ancient Near East, Islam, and ancient India is sometimes dubious, and always much thinner. Thus her appreciation of the Islamic caliphate is much less subtle than her appreciation of the Holy Roman Empire. This is scarcely her fault, for the Empire has received a far more many-sided and sophisticated study than the caliphate (and than most other non-Western institutions). Her treatment of the non-Western cultures is not only marred by errors of fact and of interpretation in its details, occasionally almost puerile; it also imposes an over-all imbalance on the argument of the book as a whole, which sometimes has the air of a eulogy of the Western heritage as compared with other cultures. Thus handicapped, she fails to substantiate an important thesis (in fact, a half-truth at best), that the rift between "East" and "West" is ascribable primarily to cultural differences arising during the Middle Ages, whereby all cultures but the Occidental became sterile. The point she intimates at the end is partly sound: that the West should stop expecting others to live by Western notions of legality, and should instead, building on its own fundamental values, create a new international system realistically relevant to world cultural conditions. But the point must remain sadly oversimplified without a more adequate world perspective with greater

awareness of the complexity of the involvement of both West and non-West in modern life.

University of Chicago

MARSHALL G. S. HODGSON

THE PREINDUSTRIAL CITY, PAST AND PRESENT. By *Gideon Sjoberg*. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 353. \$6.75.)

"A SALIENT weakness in much historical research," states the author of *The Preindustrial City*, "is the tendency to assume uniqueness in much of the social phenomena encountered. . . . A considerable proportion of sociologists, bound as they are to the American social scene, are unwitting proponents of this myopic approach." Gideon Sjoberg therefore sets himself the task of identifying and "explicating" the common features of the "life-ways" in feudal cities, past and present, the cultural foundations of which appear at first to be as utterly unlike as medieval Christian cities of Western Europe and late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century Bokhara, Fez, Lhasa, and a host of others. Differences in social organization and social attitudes exist, he admits, but he argues convincingly from a mass of illustrative data that the differences are insignificant compared to the contrasts all feudal cities present to the industrial city that began to emerge in the Western world in the seventeenth century. For here experimental science and technology together have built a kind of civilization that has little in common with communities which live by tenets such as the indignity of labor, the fixity of the social structure, and the immutable right of a small group of families to rule the lower orders.

Having established the validity of his thesis by an excess of evidence, Sjoberg goes on to deal with the question: So what? He contends that the student, now supplied with a norm, can reconstruct the mode of life in cities long since decayed or vanished by applying to them the data assembled from travelers' accounts of twentieth-century feudal cities. For, he points out, knowing what to expect eases the problem of interpreting sketchy materials and may clothe with meaning what is otherwise obscure or so buried as to escape attention. Certainly the difficulty of reaching sound conclusions, or indeed any at all, about the daily life of the inarticulate working classes has long troubled the urban historian, whether he be concerned with the thirteenth-century Cinque Ports or with a nineteenth-century American metropolis. While "extrapolation" seems too imposing a term for the process Sjoberg recommends, careful analogy nevertheless can turn speculation into a series of highly educated guesses.

Granting these excellences in the study, I still found a number of overelaborated passages. If, for example, the detailed account of the guild system of medieval European cities be necessary background for the sociologist, for the historian it is needless repetition of the familiar. Yet in view of the critical attitude of the genus historian toward sociologists' propensity to indulge in easy generalizations

based on little or no knowledge of the past, to carp at too much factual data in this book becomes graceless. Rather the historian must be grateful both for Sjöberg's avowed dedication to the specific and for a text written with refreshingly little sociological jargon.

Washington, D. C.

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN

AUFKLÄRUNG UND REVOLUTION. By *Hans Beyer et al.* [Historia Mundi, Volume IX.] (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1960. Pp. 560.)

THE initiation and general aims of *Historia Mundi* have been summarized in earlier discussions of Volumes IV, VI, and VII (*AHR*, LXIII [Jan. 1958], 380, [Apr. 1958], 653; LXIV [July 1959], 922). As Professor Thomas C. Van Cleve observed in evaluating Volume VI, a complete and balanced appreciation of the individual volumes must wait until the *Historia Mundi* can be reviewed in its entirety.

This warning is particularly relevant in an appraisal of Volume IX. Logically, it is a continuation of Volume VII, *Übergang zur Moderne*, which surveyed European history from approximately 1450 to the early eighteenth century. Volume VIII on *Die überseeische Welt und ihre Erschliessung* intervenes, but with Volume IX the predominant concern of the series with European affairs is re-asserted. Though *Aufklärung und Revolution* runs to some 225,000 words, nine-tenths of it is strictly European history, less than fifty pages are devoted to events in the Americas, and none to internal developments in the other continents.

The brief foreword, contributed by Professor Fritz Valjavec as editor, indicates that the allotted span of Volume IX is the eighteenth century, but the opening dates of the earlier chapters range from 1688 to 1740, with 1815 as the general terminal date. A broad discussion of the philosophy of the Enlightenment by the editor and a summary of the social and economic trends of the century by Professor Wilhelm Treue open the volume. Professor G. P. Gooch contributes a luminous chapter on the enlightened despots, Professor Max Braubach an analysis of the European state system from 1740 to 1792, supplemented two hundred pages later by another on the European state system, 1792-1815, by Professor Hellmuth Rössler. One more chapter of a general nature by Hans Beyer on romanticism and the awakening of nationalism is placed last; the remaining twelve chapters deal with specific countries or geographic areas.

Developments in France from 1715 to 1789 are compressed into twenty-five pages by Martin Göhring; the French Revolution receives thirty by Jean Bourdon; and the period of Napoleon fifty by André Fugier. Hans Juretschke offers a compressed but thoughtful survey of Spain and Portugal from 1700 to 1808, and Franco Venturi does the same for Italy, 1740-1796. A crisp summary of Scandinavian history from 1720 to 1815 by Sten Carlsson combines the essential facts with brief perceptive comments. Central Europe receives two chapters,

1740-1792 by Max Braubach and 1792-1815 by Hellmuth Rössler. The history of England from 1688 to 1815, covered by J. Steven Watson in thirty pages, is largely war and politics. Russian history from 1689 to 1825, as presented by Reinhard Wittram, takes its form from the character of the rulers. Fritz Wagner discusses North America, 1763-1814, and Richard Konetzke relates the Latin American struggle for independence to its European background.

The Low Countries, Switzerland, and Turkey receive no separate consideration. Nor, save for a few summary pages, do the agricultural and industrial revolutions, the progress of technology and science, improvements in transportation and communication, or the growth of population. Despite the chapter bibliographies, which demonstrate the contributors' zeal to include recent (chiefly European) research and scholarship, *Aufklärung und Revolution* recalls in tone and treatment the corresponding volumes of the original *Cambridge Modern History*. It is a collection of discrete topical essays, praiseworthy in themselves, but lacking general integration and breadth of concept. With this volume the impression is strengthened that *Historia Mundi* will prove one more monument to the parochial traditions from which Western historiography is struggling to liberate itself.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

PRUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1775-1871. By *Henry M. Adams*. ([Cleveland, Ohio:] Press of Western Reserve University in collaboration with the Goettingen Research Committee. 1960. Pp. 135.)

DR. Adams has set himself the task of presenting Prussian-American relations in the period of nearly a century from the clash of arms at Lexington on April 19, 1775, to the proclamation of the German Empire by Bismarck at Versailles on January 18, 1871. The results of his research are given in admirably concise form. The work is carefully outlined, well documented, and written in a brisk, attractive style. It is a most welcome addition to the literature of German-American relations.

The author divides his work into three major chronological sections. In Part I (1775-1800) he considers the rising republic and the rising monarchy. During the Revolutionary War, the aged and worn Frederick the Great, beset with difficulties at home, maintained a proper neutrality, but he was not unsympathetic to the colonies. The author sees the great unofficial military contribution of Prussia to the American struggle for freedom as Baron von Steuben, who left Frederick's service to become the organizer of the American army.

Part II (1800-1850) is devoted to the cultural and diplomatic relations in the romantic era—the period of philosophical idealism, liberalism, nationalism, industrialism. These were the golden decades of German-American friendship of mind and spirit, a cultural companionship furthered by historians, men of

letters, publicists, travel writers, translators, *et al.* George Ticknor, Edward Everett, George Bancroft, and John Lothrop Motley, among others, traveled eagerly to Germany to complete their studies. Everett became a Harvard professor, "but discouraged by that institution's frustrating traditions compared to the liberal spirit of German scholarship which he so admired, he resigned and entered politics." There was intense admiration in America for German intellectual methods of thoroughness, patience, and proportion. This predilection for all things German took a precipitate, if temporary, drop with the failure of the Frankfurt Assembly and its liberal-national attempt to unify Germany.

In Part III Adams takes up the story from 1850 to 1870. During the American Civil War and through Bismarck's three wars of national unification there was a mutual air of "friendly neutrality" with no really serious problems affecting the relations between the two countries. Germans turned out to be a principal financial bulwark of the North. The majority of Americans looked with approval on Prussia's quick victories on the road to German unification. George Bancroft, then American envoy in Berlin, saw in 1871 an era of glory and peace dawning upon Germany "thanks to a minister like Bismarck, a warrior like Moltke, and an industrious king, like William I, now Emperor." Seldom has so great a historian been so utterly wrong. Here is further argument for the view that historians should limit themselves to analysis of the past rather than predictions for the future.

Adams' work is presented in accurate detail and in good perspective from the pertinent source materials. The author could perform a real service for American scholarship by writing a similarly planned volume on German-American diplomatic and cultural relations between 1871 and 1960.

City College of New York

LOUIS L. SNYDER

L'ÉVEIL DES NATIONALITÉS ET LE MOUVEMENT LIBÉRAL (1815-1848). By *Félix Ponteil*. [Peuples et civilisations, Histoire générale, Volume XV.] (2d ed.; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1960. Pp. 751. 28 new fr.)

This volume in the series *Peuples et civilisations* deals with world history during the period 1815-1848. It describes and analyzes the problems confronting the world, especially Europe, after the Napoleonic Wars and the efforts that were made to solve them. An outstanding feature of the book is the considerable space devoted to social, economic, and cultural ideas and movements. The chapters dealing with these matters are not isolated, but are closely related to the historic events of the period.

Professor Ponteil's main theme is the rise of liberalism as an organized movement in the fields of politics and economics during the period. As liberalism was then international in character and aim, he develops this theme in chapters dealing with the movement as a whole. The author successfully performs this

difficult task by organizing his material in a manner that presents a synthesis of the different aspects of liberalism in the various countries.

Ponteil emphasizes the class character of the liberalism of the era. He describes in much detail the liberal political parties and schools of thought that advocated policies in harmony with the interests and aspirations of the middle class. In his appraisal of the Revolution of 1830 and the Reform Bill of 1832 the author contrasts revolution in France and reform in England as methods of political progress. He is deeply impressed by the political astuteness shown by England in mastering the art of avoiding revolution by making timely concessions.

As may be expected, the author devotes considerable space to the rise of liberal nationalism during the period. He analyzes the liberal, even democratic, character of the unification movement in Italy and the dual character of the unification movement in Germany, where the liberal nationalism of the Rhineland differed strikingly from the authoritarian nationalism of Prussia.

In his treatment of international relations the author stresses the importance of the doctrine of intervention, proclaimed by the Great Powers, as an effective method to promote peace by maintaining the existing political system. He explains, in a somewhat sarcastic vein, why this doctrine was invoked in Europe by the Quadruple Alliance when it intervened to maintain the monarchist *status quo*. He also explains, rather critically, why the policy of intervention was adopted by the United States in proclaiming the Monroe Doctrine to defend the republican *status quo* in the New World.

After the Napoleonic Wars, as after the two world wars, new forces were set loose that profoundly influenced later generations. A new class conflict emerged, that between the bourgeoisie and the workers. New social theories, notably socialism and anarchism, were advanced. In some ways the romantic movement in literature had an aspect of a *littérature engagée*. The period likewise witnessed the beginning of the alienation of Germany from Western liberalism that was to have such tragic consequences for the world. Equally significant was the emergence of Russia as one of the Great Powers; her "presence" in Europe was now a factor to be dealt with.

Ponteil's new edition will be welcomed for contributing a highly integrated study of a crucial period in world history. His sound scholarship, fine writing, and breadth of outlook fully maintain the high standard set by the editors of the series.

New York City

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

SIR GEORGE GOLDIE AND THE MAKING OF NIGERIA. By John E. Flint. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 340. \$4.80.)

NIGERIAN PERSPECTIVES: AN HISTORICAL ANTHOLOGY. By

Thomas Hodgkin. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xviii, 340. \$4.80.)

NIGERIA: NEWEST NATION. By *Lois Mitchison.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1960. Pp. x, 122. \$3.00.)

IN these days of heightened interest in all things African, these studies of Nigeria, which gained its independence in 1960, are appropriate. *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria* is a welcome contribution to African historiography. The life of one of the lesser-known giants of empire building is vividly portrayed, the chartered company as an imperialist device in the late nineteenth century is given close scrutiny, and the development of modern Nigeria is clearly anticipated. The rise and fall of the Royal Niger Company and the impact of Sir George Goldie and his company upon the evolving frame of government in Nigeria are expertly analyzed. The author emphasizes that Goldie laid down the theoretical and administrative bases for the system of indirect rule, which was later implemented by Lord Lugard. Goldie's work, indeed, had significant effect upon British policy in the tropics generally in the present century.

The book provides an interesting view of the twists and turns of a British government that sought to avoid the expenditure of funds and the assumption of direct responsibility for new imperial ventures, but at the same time felt impelled to dictate policies to the company. The account of the struggle between the imperial titans, Joseph Chamberlain and Goldie, over the future of the company is dramatic and revealing. The book reflects the realism, sharp commercial practices, and cynicism that often underlay the lofty expressions of imperial idealism, and the crassness in the conduct of nineteenth-century international relations generally is apparent. This is not to deny the obvious services rendered and benefits that accrued to the Nigerian peoples from British rule, but a needed balance is struck.

Handicapped by Goldie's destruction of his personal papers, the author has nevertheless covered a wide range of sources. He has relied heavily upon official papers from 1885 to 1902, only released by the British government in 1952. Limitations noted on the use of British parliamentary papers as valid historical sources for late nineteenth-century imperial and colonial topics are worthy of attention. Adequate and well-organized treatment is given to all phases of the life of Goldie and his company. The account is well documented, and the bibliography ample. There is a real need for this excellent book which could not have been written before now. The historical expert will discover in it rich information, and the general reader will find it fascinating.

In *Nigerian Perspectives*, Mr. Hodgkin presents an anthology of historical writings that date back from the ninth century and derive from Arab geographers, native literature and tradition, diplomatic correspondence, European travelers, and civil servants. Attention is given to social life among the Nigerian peoples, their

relationship with one another, and their connection with the outside world. The selections are well chosen, appropriately interpreted and annotated, and a good balance among the historical periods is preserved. Time, space, and culture are the guideposts observed in the choice of the selections. The accounts show higher cultural attainment, economic achievement, commercial perception, and governmental development among the historic Nigerian peoples than is normally presumed.

Any anthology must be somewhat disjointed and lacking in continuity, but the fifty-two-page introduction, an excellent historical and bibliographical treatise in itself, gives helpful interpretation and a frame of reference for the whole work. The author's erudition, mastery of languages, and command of the sources are obvious. His thumbnail vignettes in the footnotes of important Africans and foreign personages related to Nigeria are especially good. The purpose of admitting us to closer historical fellowship with the Nigerian peoples in their native habitat is achieved. The book is helpful to the historian and anthropologist, but should be of especial interest to the general reader.

Nigeria: Newest Nation is the work of an experienced journalist who spent a few months in Nigeria and whose aim is a perspective view of the land in its current setting. The author presents a comprehensive treatment of modern Nigeria in respect to the history of its peoples, the way they live, their politics, and their politicians. She is gently critical of British administrators, their sometimes superior attitudes, and their concern with abstract ideas. She has a low opinion of indirect rule, gives voice to African criticisms of it, and observes that it seldom works out in practice as well as it does in theory. The book suffers from weaknesses often associated with such journalistic endeavors. Its brevity precludes intensive consideration of any subject, and it is somewhat superficial. There is practically no annotation, and the bibliography is brief. The volume, of primary interest to the reader seeking a summary view, is of little aid to the specialist.

University of Cincinnati

GARLAND G. PARKER

AMERICAN COMMUNISM AND SOVIET RUSSIA: THE FORMATIVE PERIOD. By *Theodore Draper*. (New York: Viking Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 558. \$8.50.)

Mr. Draper has written another superlative book. The high level of research, writing, and interpretation found in his *The Roots of American Communism* (1957) is continued and, if anything, improved upon in this study. It carries the story of American Communism from 1923, where Draper left it at the end of his first volume, to 1929 when Jay Lovestone, who had the misfortune of being associated with the fallen Bukharin, was deposed by Stalin from the leadership of the Communist party of the United States.

American Communism and Soviet Russia is appropriately titled. The American Communist movement was completely dominated from Moscow, in theory

by the Comintern International but in practice by the ruling Soviet faction which controlled that organization. What happened in the power struggle in the Soviet Union was directly reflected in the American party. With consummate skill Draper links the fortunes of such American Communist leaders as Charles Ruthenberg, William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow, John Pepper, William Weinstone, and James Cannon to the Soviet infighting among Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Stalin.

The power struggle in Moscow brought frequent shifts in Comintern policies depending, of course, on which faction emerged victorious. As the author points out in the case of Stalin's famous "Left turn" in 1927, such shifts were made more with the view of embarrassing one's opponents than for ideological considerations. Yet the repercussions took ideological form, and the Comintern line for Communist parties abroad constantly zigged and zagged. American Communist leaders who basked momentarily in Russian favor one day might discover themselves on the next exposed to needling attacks from party factional foes. Under such circumstances, they usually abjured past errors as quickly as possible and waited for a favorable turn in Comintern policies. William Z. Foster, who had a genius for wrong ideological guesses, developed a prodigious appetite for eating doctrinal crow.

As a small sect (the party membership in 1927 was approximately 9,500), the American Communists sought to expand their mass influence, when the Comintern permitted, by infiltrating political movements such as the Farmer-Labor and Progressive parties, by boring from within the American Federation of Labor, and by organizing "front" organizations. The last allowed them to work with and to proselytize non-Communists and simultaneously to preserve their doctrinal purity. In those instances where they cooperated politically with other groups, they helped in the end to wreck them.

The Communism in American Life Series has been subsidized by the Fund for the Republic. The directors of the fund have received ample return from Draper's two volumes. At least one more is due from him.

University of Massachusetts

HOWARD H. QUINT

Ancient and Medieval

THE GREEK STATE. By *Victor Ehrenberg*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1960. Pp. vii, 280. \$7.00.)

THE ANCIENT GREEKS. By *Morton Smith*. [The Development of Western Civilization: Narrative Essays in the History of Our Tradition from Its Origins in Ancient Israel and Greece to the Present.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 144. \$1.50.)

Dr. Ehrenberg's book first appeared in German in 1932; a second German

edition in two small volumes followed in 1957 (*Der hellenische Staat*) and in 1958 (*Der hellenistische Staat*). It goes without saying that an essay on Greek states by a scholar of his standing is to be welcomed. The manner of the narrative is sober, but the author has a different purpose from that of Zimmern's lively *The Greek Commonwealth*. The title reveals his approach to the subject: to write a book about "the" Greek state suggests that among the many forms of Greek state it may be possible to discover an ideal type, and methods of typology are pursued throughout. The procedures used to infer the ideal type are indeed interesting, even to those who may have reservations in principle about such a method.

In fact the book will be best consulted by scholars who may wish to know Ehrenberg's opinions on particular points; it seems less suitable for scholars of political science, students, and general readers. The method chosen inevitably calls for generalizations, but these are frequently presented without proof. The needed evidence often cannot be extracted from the closely packed pages of bibliography at the rear; though invaluable as suggestions for further reading, they are not footnotes. Sometimes, moreover, generalizations are based on evidence that admits and perhaps demands an alternative interpretation. The author mentions, for example, that "Solon had issued a general prohibition to export; only oil was exempted." In the context this is taken to prove that the city-state desired self-sufficiency, which in turn becomes one of the traits of the ideal polis. But Solon was probably trying to divert Attic agriculture toward olives, which could be grown successfully, and away from grain, which could not. Oil would then be sold and grain bought; self-sufficiency seems to play no part. "The political rise of the individual" is an uncertain phenomenon: are we to doubt that individuals were always politically effective? And in accepting a tradition that in Athens "elections were held on the basis of nobility and wealth," the author departs from a properly critical attitude toward sources (cf. Wade-Gery, *Essays*, page one hundred). The broad general statements on every page threaten to be dangerously attractive to those who cannot firmly control the sources. They are accompanied, and at times redeemed, by many sound and precise observations. I especially applaud the remark about ancient philosophers' concepts of the state: "even if they have a kernel of historical and empirical truth, they cannot serve as a framework in which to draw a picture of the real state." Indeed I suspect that this principle has wider validity than might appear from the immediate context.

Professor Smith's book in the Cornell series skillfully executes one of the hardest tasks imaginable: to introduce Greek civilization in 129 pages of text. The main theme is the political growth of the several Greek communities including the Hellenistic kingdoms, but the author pays due attention to artistic, literary, and social matters, and his style is efficient and at times epigrammatic. It is creditable to carry the story beyond 322, the year at which Greek history is often truncated, but 189 B.C. is a less suitable terminus than 146. Rarely, the need

for compression constrains the author to disputable abruptness. It is implied that about 1600 the Minoans "inspired a new culture, the Mycenaean"; this scarcely does justice to Mycenae. Again, to say that "there must have been Greeks in both the Minoan and the Mycenaean civilizations" will not help the student to reconstruct the history behind the invention of Linear B. The statement that "the legendary king Theseus of Athens had united all Attica under his rule" leaves it uncertain whether the reader should believe that Theseus did so (he should not). In the text dates might well be more frequent and the student encouraged to work with them by observing certain easily remembered intervals. The last chapter ("Dissemination") unfortunately demands more terseness than the others, and the Hellenistic history told here will be difficult for the student to grasp. The ending is unnecessarily abrupt and lacks a page or two of summarizing reflection. A regrettable misprint nicknames Diogenes "god" rather than "dog." The two maps are inadequate, but for this defect the author probably is not responsible.

University of California, Los Angeles

MORTIMER CHAMBERS

PLATO'S CRETAN CITY: A HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF *THE LAWS*. By Glenn R. Morrow. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xxii, 623. \$12.50.)

THE last great work of Plato, still rough and unfinished at his death in 348-347, is the dialogue or rather treatise known as *The Laws*, a vast, crabbed, obscure, and magnificent document which occupies 346 folio pages in the Stephanus edition and well over five hundred in the Loeb. The Greek varies from the difficult to the unintelligible, and this, combined with the highly technical nature of much of the discussion, made it proverbial in antiquity as a text which few read. It presents, in great but often inadequate detail and with a strongly philosophical coloring, the constitution and civil code of a city to be established in Crete. Philosophers avoid it as essentially practical, and the jurists and historians as essentially theoretical. Its influence on ancient political and legal thought should have been immense, but it is largely unknown and perhaps unknowable. It has always had some admirers. Anyone who is fortunate enough to teach it regularly becomes fascinated by its riches. There has been a constant if slight succession of books and articles devoted to it, some of which appear in the bibliography of Professor Morrow, who has here bravely attempted the impossible.

In writing systematically, as he does, about *The Laws*, it is necessary to determine what Plato meant, why he thought that way (the "Historical Interpretation"), and what it is all worth. The second of these is guesswork and the third, theory, while the first involves not merely the assembling of Plato's comments on things scattered from one end of *The Laws* to the other but also of systematizing

them, and Plato defies systematization more than anyone who ever wrote. But there is great merit in the attempt. This is a fine and interesting book, longer than *The Laws* (although not much), and contains many sound and useful observations on the treatise itself and its environment and background. One can only hope, however, that no one reads it without first reading *The Laws* over and over and looking up all the citations as he goes along, for Morrow is no substitute for Plato.

But he is systematic. There are three parts as follows: I, "Three Historical States (Crete, Sparta, Athens)"; II, Plato's City (Property and the Family, Government, Administration of Justice, Education, Religion, and the Nocturnal Council)" (which last strikes the author as it has others as an equivalent of Plato's own Academy); III, "Plato's Principles (The Mixed Constitution, the Rule of Law, and the Rule of Philosophy)." In the last, the author can write interpretatively as a philosopher, and his comments are interesting, especially his insistence on the importance of mixture throughout with the suggestion that the background of this is Pythagorean. "Law is sovereign, but it is law formulated and controlled . . . by philosophy. Philosophy also is sovereign, but not by the sacrifice of law."

Two elements in Plato's thought seem to me to come short, his theory of torts and obligations which ought to interest the jurists more than it has (it is the only extensive legal doctrine which we have before the Roman Empire), and religion. In spite of his best efforts, the author cannot divest himself of modern prejudices. He cannot believe that Plato had faith in the Greek gods, even when Plato grudgingly allows his citizens (and himself) to get drunk at the festival of Dionysus. This, as the later Academics explained, was an area of belief and not of reason, and Plato deferred to Delphi as a modern philosopher may defer to the church. But is it only a curious (and rare) slip when he states that the twelve tribes of the city are to be dedicated to "the Twelve Gods." Others have said the same, but Plato wrote only "twelve gods," and these would have been designated by Apollo. The great Twelve might guard cities, but hardly tribes, toward which they would be expected to admit some sort of ancestral relationship.

There is much more to write. I have a sheaf of notes, and could discuss the work at length. I may, however, only repeat that this is an excellent book on an exciting subject, to which it is hoped it will draw attention.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

ROMAN COINS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE. By *Harold Mattingly*. (2d rev. ed.; Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1960. Pp. xiii, 303, 64 plates. \$12.50.)

IN 1928, when the first edition of this work was published, it was universally agreed that it was the best single-volume summary of the current state of scholarship on the subject. It is significant that a review of the current edition must begin with the warning that using the first edition today would present a serious hazard. Since 1928, Roman coinage, particularly that of the Republic, has been re-examined in a series of articles which culminated in the publication in 1957 of the excellent synthesis of Professor Rudi Thomsen, giving a new low chronology. Mattingly was therefore compelled to revise his book if it was to continue as the standard single-volume English text on the subject. The revision has been thorough and involves all of the historical sections.

The entire history of Republican coinage has been changed by the tacit acceptance of the introduction of the denarius in 169 B.C. rather than during the Pyrrhic War. Naturally such a major change necessitates equally important revisions in the history of bronze coinage and in the interpretation of the relationship between coinage and the general life of the Republic. In this case, though the sections devoted to these problems have been completely rewritten, the reader would do well to supplement the revised account with that of Professor Sture Bolin (*State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.*) which was published in 1958 and was apparently not utilized by Mattingly.

Complete revision has also been carried out in the historical summaries of coinage during the early and later periods of the Empire. Mattingly has suspended judgment about a possible connection between monetary changes and constitutional reforms in 27 and 23 B.C. whereas he tried to establish such relationships in the first edition. His insistence, however, on the primacy of Lugdunum during the Augustan Age continues. On the coinage of Galba he has followed the general pattern presented by Colin Kraay with few reservations. There has also been a necessary major revision of the descriptions of the monetary systems of Aurelian, Diocletian, and the fourth century.

Naturally there are always small errors which creep into a work of such broad synthesis. One should perhaps be mentioned because it may mislead future students. Mattingly speaks of an "unpublished papyrus" in a sentence taken unchanged from the edition of 1928, but C. H. Roberts and Mattingly published and discussed this very papyrus, P. Ryl. Gk. Inv. 650, in the *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress* held in London in 1936. Not only that, but the papyrus was republished and discussed by L. C. West and A. C. Johnson in their book *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (1944), as well as in a number of other books and articles.

Despite such small errors and some questions of interpretation about monetary history during the early Republic and late Empire, this book, because of the thorough revision, will undoubtedly replace the earlier edition as the standard introductory account. It has the inherent weaknesses of such a broad synthetic

treatment, but these are more than compensated for by the remarkable competence and learning of Mattingly in the field of Roman numismatics.

City College of New York

HOWARD L. ADELSON

HUNNU: SREDINNAIA AZIIA V DREVNIE VREMENA [Hiung-nu: The Innermost Asia in Ancient Times]. By L. N. Gumilev. (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, USSR, Institute of Oriental Studies. 1960. Pp. 292. 11.50 rubles.)

THERE is no consensus of opinion on the problem of continuity of Hunnic migrations. Many historians consider Attila's Huns direct descendants of the Hiung-nu mentioned in the Chinese chronicles. Other scholars deny the equation Hiung-nu=Huns. L. N. Gumilev accepts the continuity, but in a modified form. He affirms that during the sojourn of the Hiung-nu in the Ural area (around A.D. 155 to A.D. 350) they mixed with the Ugrians and were re-enforced by the latter in their subsequent drive to Europe. This explains certain differences in anthropological and ethnographic traits between the Hiung-nu and Huns.

In its essence Gumilev's book is a study of the contrast and interdependence of a settled agricultural and a nomadic society. It is a penetrative and well-organized outline of the history of the Hiung-nu empire, its formation, growth, struggle with China, its pressure on China, and China's impact on it. Much attention is given to the variety of ethnic background of China, Innermost Asia, and Central Asia, including the Din-lin and other peoples of the "Europeid" anthropological type. Regarding the Din-lin, Gumilev had discussed them in more detail in his previous study, "Dinlinskaia problema [the Din-lin Problem]," *Izvestiia Vsesoiuznogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva* (XCI [1959], 17-26).

The first three chapters of the book treat of the ethnogenesis of the Hiung-nu, their drive to the north across the Gobi Desert ("discovery of Siberia" as Gumilev aptly calls this event), the archaeology of southern Siberia and Mongolia, and the gradual changes of types of culture there. Chapter iv deals with the Great Wall of China. Gumilev shows that while the wall had been built primarily for warding off the attacks of the Hiung-nu, it also served another purpose, to prevent Chinese defectors from escaping to the Hiung-nu in search of an easier life (no taxes!). In the main body of the book Gumilev describes the Hiung-nu empire in the period of its might, the penetration of both the Chinese and the Hiung-nu into the "Western countries" (Central Asia), the decline of the Hiung-nu, and the disintegration of their state. The social and political organization of the Hiung-nu is dealt with at its different stages and in several places. There is but a brief account of Hunnic religion.

Gumilev bases his characterization of the economic and cultural life of the Hiung-nu and the adjacent tribes mainly on the archaeological data obtained from recent excavations in Siberia and Mongolia. In most cases his description of the contents of the finds is condensed but illuminative. The discussion of some of the

Noin-Ula discoveries shows his mastery in blending historical and archaeological evidence.

As appendixes the book contains a glossary of ethnic names, a synchronistic table of events (in three columns: China; Innermost and Central Asia; India and Iran), two genealogical tables of the Hiung-nu emperors, and one table of the Wu-sun rulers.

Yale University

GEORGE VERNADSKY

THE ANGLO-SAXONS: STUDIES IN SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE PRESENTED TO BRUCE DICKINS. Edited by *Peter Clemoes*. (London: Bowes and Bowes. 1959. Pp. 322. 35s.)

THESE essays, offered "as a seventieth birthday present" to the recently retired professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge, while reflecting the wide range of his scholarly interests, illustrate at the same time the diversity of skills and sciences which are today lighting up the darker stretches of British history before the Norman Conquest. The transformation, of which the nonspecialist was made aware by the appearance in 1936 of Collingwood and Myres's first volume of *The Oxford History*, still continues, as archaeologists, place-name linguists, numismatists, and art historians supplement the evidence elicited by the close scrutiny to which charters, writs, and chronicles are being subjected.

The articles, all of high scholarly quality, range from short notes on technical linguistic, textual, or archaeological points, such as A. H. Smith's on two place-name elements in Yorkshire, Kenneth Jackson's historical-cum-etymological proof that Edinburgh did *not* get its name from Eadwine of Northumbria, J. Young's notes on the Caedmon MS in the Bodleian Library, R. M. Wilson's on the Vespasian Psalter gloss, Dr. Harmer's edition of two writs of Edward the Confessor (in effect an appendix to her great volume on Anglo-Saxon writs), and D. M. Wilson's account of four rings with runic inscriptions preserved in the British and Copenhagen Museums, one of which he shows to be a modern copy. Repercussions of the Sutton Hoo ship burial appear twice. Sir Frank Stenton uses the evidence of early Mercian genealogical tables to elucidate the problem of which East Anglian ruler was commemorated in that great cenotaph. In "The Monsters and Beowulf" Mrs. Chadwick insists not only that the hero's fight with the powers of evil is the heart of the story, but also that it is a traditional theme of Scandinavian legend. Putting together the treasure-filled barrow of the poem and the Swedish antecedents of the East Anglian dynasty, she suggests that "during the lifetime of those who remembered the building and furnishing of Sutton Hoo a poet composed *Beowulf* for a member of the same dynasty to glorify his ancestral line."

Other studies of legend, by G. Turville Petre and Margaret Ashdown, illustrate Icelandic interest in English figures; the story of Harold Godwinson's survival

after Hastings, as she suggests, is one in a long series of wish fulfillments stretching from King Arthur to Kitchener.

Four longer essays are of special interest: H. M. Taylor's masterly study of certain features in some nineteen Anglo-Saxon churches, illustrated with measured architectural drawings, provoking the question for what ritual or ceremonial purpose these western galleries and side chapels were built; the chronological list of Aelfric's writings, by Peter Clemoes, editor of the volume, probably the book's most solid contribution to scholarship; and two articles dealing with "straight" history. F. T. Wainwright asks why the great Lady of the Mercians, Alfred's daughter Aethelflaed, has such scanty notice in West Saxon sources, whereas Celtic chroniclers rank her as *famosissima regina*? His answer is that her "virtual elimination from the national record" was due to the risk that praise of her great military and diplomatic achievements might lead to a revival of Mercian nationalism. Professor Whitelock's study of the methods by which the kings of England, in the ninth and tenth centuries, fought the menace of Northumbrian particularism, with its dangerous Scandinavian affiliations, points forward to the perennial "problem of the North," still a potential danger under the Tudors.

This worthy tribute to Professor Bruce Dickins is completed by a bibliography of his writings covering the period 1912-1959.

Sevenoaks, Kent

HELEN CAM

SEIGNEURIE ET FÉODALITÉ: LE PREMIER ÂGE, DES LIENS D'HOMME À HOMME. By *Robert Boutruche*. [Collection Historique.] (Paris: Aubier. 1959. Pp. 422. 1,440 fr.)

WITH another volume to come, one cannot be sure. But on the basis of this first volume it seems very likely that M. Boutruche is writing what will become the standard account of "manorialism and feudalism." It is far more comprehensive than Ganshof's book, which has been translated into English. And if the ideas do not have the originality, nor the writing the grace of Marc Bloch's classic account, this book has the advantage of twenty years of scholarship and discussion since Bloch wrote. It is the work of a master historian, one who knows the sources and has made original contributions in the field, as well as one who knows and uses the researches of his predecessors and contemporaries, both French and foreign. It is a book, moreover, of considerable subtlety.

The work begins with a clear discussion of the semantics of feudalism, and the author takes a firm position here that if the term is to mean anything, it must mean what it did in medieval Europe where it originated. The Marxist usage and the pejorative common usage which regard any fragmentation of authority as feudal are both criticized. The distinction between seigneurie and fief, which is not always made by French writers, is carefully drawn throughout the book.

The second volume will deal with the apogee and decline of feudalism. The

present one is concerned chiefly with the formative period in "le haut Moyen Âge," from the eighth to the mid-eleventh century. There is a masterly survey of the economic background. Then two chapters deal with the evolution of the seigneurie, followed by two on feudalism, both in the lands which composed the Carolingian Empire. These formed the *pays d'élection* of feudalism, and Boutrouche stresses the role of the Carolingian family in calling it into being. A second part deals with "Les liens de subordination en dehors de l'Europe franque"; the ancient Orient, Spain, England before the Normans, Scandinavia, the Slav world, the Mongols, Islam, Byzantium, China, and Japan. This is comparative history as it should be written, making contrasts as well as comparisons. From this section Boutrouche emerges with the conclusion that only in Japan was there a feudalism closely resembling that of Western Europe although not derived from it. But the effort is not simply negative, for the contrasts help in understanding the nature of Western feudalism and suggest something of the peculiar preconditions, if not causes, of its appearance. A lengthy appendix of documents, all translated into French, a comprehensive bibliography, by itself an invaluable contribution to scholarship, and a brief index of terms complete the volume.

Individual readers will differ with this or that point, of course. In general, one could wish that more attention had been paid to the social and intellectual milieu even if not so much as is given to the economic and political. A greater amount of illustration would be very welcome to keep the discussion more concrete. Boutrouche tends to personify the institutions he is dealing with and sometimes he seems to forget this is a metaphor and endows them with a life of their own. But these faults are far outweighed by the scholarship and the balanced judgment which promise to make this work a major contribution to the historiography of our time.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

HISTORY OF EGYPT, 1382-1469 A.D.: TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC ANNALS OF ABU L-MAḤASIN IBN TAGHRÎ BIRDÎ. Part VI, 1453-1461 A.D.; Part VII, 1461-1468 A.D. By *William Popper*. [University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Volumes XXII and XXIII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 165; xxiv, 159. \$3.50; \$4.00.)

THESE two volumes bring to an end the translation of the concluding portion of Ibn Taghrî Birdî's long historical work, *an-Nujûm az-zâhirah*, which Popper began to publish in 1954 (see *AHR*, LXI [Oct. 1955], 108); only the index is still outstanding. The present volumes include a few short reigns, but deal mainly with the reigns of Inâl and Khushqadam; at the beginning of the long reign of Qâitbây in 1468, the author laid down his pen, and he died shortly thereafter. In

the *Nujûm*, he frequently refers to the more detailed treatment of the same period contained in another work of his, and, as a matter of fact, the modern reader cannot help feeling that he could and should have given more flesh and substance to his narrative than are found in it.

In the center of the Egyptian historian's interest we find again the appointments, promotions, intrigues, and fights of Egypt's ruling group. Ibn Taghrî Birdî has something important to say about the unwisdom of retaining high-sounding titles after the positions to which they applied lost their original prestige. His prejudice against the non-Moslem minority, especially Christian officeholders, breaks through again. The great mass of the population is rarely considered worthy of historical notice. The author stresses the disrupting effect on business life of Mameluke malfeasances that left no power to the civilian authorities, the *qâdîs*. He excoriates the robberies and extortions practiced by the soldiery, but also remarks that even exceptionally violent fighting for power among opposing Mameluke factions left the city doing business as usual. He mentions currency reforms and the incidence of inflation as the result of an epidemic. He notes attempts at urban renewal and the problems raised by it, graphically describes a dangerous conflagration and the raiding of Cairo by Bedouin robbers. Events outside Egypt are hardly noticed, but there are a few interesting passages on the impression made by the conquest of Constantinople in the Egyptian capital, on the interference of Egypt in the affairs of Cyprus, and on contacts with India. By far the best pages are those where the author deals with personalities, either in the course of his narrative or in the collected obituary notices at the end of each reign. He lays bare the character and motivations of the great and the less great of his time, whether this means describing the political effect of the ruler's physical appearance or puzzling over the discovery of a fortune concealed in the house of a deceased ascetic who during his life had enjoyed a great reputation for his saintly ways. This, of course, is due to the stress laid on the individual that is characteristic of Moslem civilization. On the whole, Popper's painstaking translation, the result of many years of devoted labor, confirms the impression that Ibn Taghrî Birdî's work is a good index of the strengths and shortcomings of Moslem historiography.

Yale University

FRANZ ROSENTHAL

Modern Europe

KARL V.: DER KAISER UND SEINE ZEIT. KÖLNER COLLOQUIUM 26.-29. NOVEMBER 1958. Edited by *Peter Rassow* and *Fritz Schalk*. (Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1960. Pp. xi, 217. DM 20.)

THIS volume's first essay deals with the image of Charles V in literary tradi-

tion. The author, Peter Rassow, does not romanticize this theme, since there simply has never been any real *mythos* of Charles V. Indeed, while Charles would have to be included among the score of key figures of European history, almost every other person in that group would excite more of an air of mystery than he. If his personality lacks fascination, however, it commands sympathy: he was not a trimmer like so many princes of his time. Considering the vastness of his domain and the integrity of his rule during forty critical years of European history, the conception of the "Age of Charles V" is proper. It was not a contrived occasion, therefore, when an international colloquium of scholars gathered at Cologne on the four hundredth anniversary of Charles's death, and the publication of their deliberations in this volume will be welcomed by scholars.

Four of the essays deal with problems of the age more than the man: on the Spanish in the New World (Lewis Hanke, Richard Konetzke) and on Spanish literature (Fritz Schalk, Robert Ricard). Another handful deal with some of Charles's "area" or "topical" problems: Milan (Federico Chabod), East Europe (Hermann Kellenbenz), the amber trade in the Lowlands (Ramón Carande), the popes and the council (Hubert Jedin), the Mediterranean (the late Jaime Vicens Vives). Werner Näf (†) speculates in a few pages about the variety of Charles's holdings, and the verity of his "Empire." Berthold Beinert offers an excellent *Quellenkritik* of Charles's testament and instructions to his son. On the philosophical level, Antonio Truyol y Serra considers Charles V as a prince, measuring him by the yardstick of "reason of state" policy, while Ramón Menéndez Pidal traces the growth of Charles's political thought. Pidal's essay is the next to longest and provides an intellectual-biographical exposition of the problem which Näf summarizes analytically.

Two essays in art history serve to raise this book above the average of its genre by giving us a veritable portrait gallery of the hero. There are sixteen different representations of Charles V, plus a bonus of the details of some of them. Georg Poensgen covers a wide range of portraits of Charles V, while Herbert von Einem concentrates upon four by Titian. Von Einem's article is the longest in the volume and the most erudite. He is perhaps more interested in the painter than the painter's subject, but then he also brings out the interplay between Titian's conceptions and contemporary humanistic thought, giving us refreshing double-reflected views of Charles V. Rassow, at the end of his introductory essay, makes a special plea for an iconographical *Sammlung* to intensify our image of Charles V; the illustrations in this volume offer a provisory collection and show the good purpose that it can serve.

University of Minnesota

RALPH E. GIESEY

DIPLOMATISCHESKAIA ISTORIIA RUSSKO-FRANTSUZSKOGO SOI-
UZA V NACHALE XX VEKA [Diplomatic History of the Franco-Russian

Alliance at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century]. By *E. M. Rozental*. (Moscow: Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1960. Pp. 270. 8 rubles, 40 kopecks.)

SOVIET historians are systematically exploiting still unpublished czarist archives that concern the diplomacy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they have begun to provide detailed and specific information on Russia's role in the European alliance system. The present monograph deals with Franco-Russian relations in the period 1904-1907 and presents the thesis that during those years Russia was finally committed to the entente system. Rozental argues that until the Russo-Japanese War and the revolution of 1905 Russia was an uncommitted power which, despite the French alliance of 1891-1892, was able to play upon the conflicting interests of the major states in developing a policy of expansion. With the defeats in the Far East, however, and increasing turbulence at home, Russia's need for financial support threw her directly into the French orbit, while the French government, both to protect previous investments and to assure Russian backing against Germany, provided the money to meet Russia's economic crisis, took a moderate position in the Hull incident, observed a benevolent neutrality during the Russo-Japanese War, and worked persistently to accommodate the conflicts among Russia, Japan, and Britain. The story is told with a wealth of original material drawn from the *Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossii*, the *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Moskvyy*, the *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Leningrada*, and the *Tsentralnyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Voenno-Morskogo Flota*. In addition Rozental has used the basic published sources effectively. The book's primary contribution is to present the details of Russia's economic situation and the financial arrangements which structured both French and Russian policy, and incidentally to suggest that Russia's role in the diplomacy of the first decade of the twentieth century was more significant than has been previously recognized. Western readers may be put off by the heavy-handed Leninist interpretation and on occasion will find clinching points substantiated by reference to Lenin's analyses rather than substantive materials, but the core of the book is substantial and will reward careful reading. In my opinion Rozental's work does not materially alter the major interpretations concerning European diplomacy before the First World War, but it does provide much-needed specific data on the mechanics and motives of Russian foreign policy. Beyond this, Rozental drives home the point that the alliance system must be viewed against a broader background than European entanglements as such, and underscores the need to study domestic developments as the starting point for analyzing foreign relations.

University of Missouri

R. E. McGREW

THE TWILIGHT OF EUROPEAN COLONIALISM: A POLITICAL ANALYSIS. By *Stewart C. Easton*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1960. Pp. xvi, 571. \$7.50.)

THE subtitle of this book should be noted, for this is not a general work covering the economy, educational systems, or even the accomplishments of the colonial powers in the colonies. Not that these topics are omitted entirely, but they are always incidental to the analysis of how the colonies are governed. The volume covers the colonial possessions of England, France, Belgium, and Portugal as of September 1959; Algeria, Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, and Réunion are omitted because they have the status of French metropolitan departments. By adding footnotes while the book was in press, the author has been able to bring the account down to about April 1960.

The book is crammed with facts and replete with detail on the framework of governments. Here one can find how many official and unofficial, how many appointed or elected members there are in each colonial legislature and what the franchise requirements are. Names of the numerous political parties are given, though unfortunately but understandably recourse is taken to abbreviations. At times one gets lost in the alphabetical jungle; a list of abbreviations is very much needed. In general, Easton might well have shown more selectivity, and his characterization of a volume in one of his bibliographical notes might well be applied to his own: "This book is excellent for reference, but rather formidable for reading straight through." The bibliographical notes, dealing with each of the four colonial powers, are excellent and should be of real aid in bringing many small library collections up to date on Africa. While this is hardly a volume to be used as a text, there are sections that would make stimulating assignments. Among the best are the chapters on the British crown colony system, the section on United Nations trusteeship, the introductory chapter on overseas France, the chapter on Portuguese colonies, and the concluding chapter in which the policies of the four powers are compared and contrasted.

About three hundred pages are devoted to the British Empire, and here a unique, but on the whole successful, classification of the various territories has been followed. They are grouped as: colonies marked for independence as unitary entities, those with a clear federal future, those with a possible federal future, those where white settlers cloud the future, United Nations trust territories, colonies too small for full independence, and colonies disputed by foreign powers. Easton is critical of British policy throughout, and especially of the English attitude of condescension toward the natives. In contrast the basic social equality existing in the French colonies, where whites and blacks use the same facilities, seems to incline the author to a favorable view of French colonial administration. The *loi cadre* of 1956 is extolled for the political training it provided for the natives. Easton is optimistic about the prospects of the French community, a future that

does not seem so bright today as when his account was written. The excessive paternalism of the Belgian administration is condemned, and events have justified the author's fears of too rapid a shift to independence. As to how long the authoritarian Portuguese government, outwardly at least oblivious to events in the rest of Africa, can maintain its control, Easton ventures no opinion, although he obviously believes the twilight of colonialism is also approaching here.

There are six clearly drawn maps and a useful and full table of contents. It is to be hoped that publisher and author will be able to keep the volume reasonably up to date, and, now that the ground work has been laid, to cut down on the detail and expand the synthesis in future editions.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

THE CHARITIES OF LONDON, 1480-1660: THE ASPIRATIONS AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE URBAN SOCIETY. By *W. K. Jordan*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1960. Pp. 463. \$6.00.)

THE FORMING OF THE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND: A STUDY OF THE CHANGING PATTERN OF SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS IN BRISTOL AND SOMERSET, 1480-1660. By *W. K. Jordan*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume L, Part 8.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1960. Pp. 99. \$2.00.)

THESE two books amplify, particularize, and illustrate *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660*, Jordan's initial report on his monumental study of Tudor and early Stuart bequests and donations, the benefactions of 34,963 individuals in ten English counties (see *AHR*, LXV [Jan. 1960], 362). *The Charities of London* surveys the gifts of 7,391 of these donors, residents of the city and its county, Middlesex. The book on Bristol and Somerset includes 4,160 givers.

Jordan shows what these donors gave and how they gave. The research is based on wills and endowments and the purposes to which their gifts were devoted. He divides the givers into thirteen social classes of crown, gentry, clergy, merchants, and so forth, and tabulates what each class gave to the poor, to social rehabilitation, municipal betterment, education, and religion. Despite a broad statistical range, this is an intimate study. The greater part of the account in both books is devoted to individual donors and their charitable objectives. In London, for example, Jordan introduces five hundred givers by name. We are told about the nationwide benefactions of Henry Smith but the smaller givers, like George Henningham who founded an almshouse for three poor widows, are not forgotten.

Eighty-four per cent of the metropolitan donors are traced to their respective parishes among the 193 in the city and county. The wills of 181 London merchants show that an average of 18 per cent of their estates went to charity, from 29 per cent before the Reformation to an Elizabethan 25 per cent, and 15 per cent in the period that includes the Civil War. The trend of all giving was from religious

causes before the Reformation to secular objectives thereafter, notably under Elizabeth. In all three counties, helping the poor, mainly through household relief and almshouses, rose markedly as a favored cause. Education was the chief interest of the professions in London, with great emphasis upon the universities. The bulk of the giving in the metropolis came from a "merchant elite" who gave more than 56 per cent of the benefactions, with other businesses and the professions bringing the total to over 70 per cent. Fifteen per cent of the gifts came from women, many of them the widows or wives of merchants. Thirty-one per cent of London money went outside the city whose population was fed by an enormous influx from the rest of England.

This is a primary study of first magnitude. It is difficult even to hint at the wealth of its material. Jordan's books are far more than an accounting of charitable actions. They paint a social and economic picture of the time and of its philanthropic preferences. Every kind of charitable provision is illustrated, from the inept and the casual to the carefully conceived and planned. While the testators and other givers were influenced by the trends of the time, they seem to have followed their individual impulses and intentions. One wonders whether they "gained a large measure of control over the spreading and chronic social blight of poverty" and how far they went "towards securing its prevention." Whatever one's doubts on this score there can be no argument about the importance and significance of the achievement represented in these two books. It is not too much to say that the student of good works in this period should not only know his Stow and his Fuller; he must now study Jordan.

Washington, D. C.

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ

CONFLICT IN STUART ENGLAND: ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF WALLACE NOTESTEIN. Edited by *William Appleton Aiken* and *Basil Duke Henning*. (New York: New York University Press. 1960. Pp. 271. \$4.00.)

THIS volume of essays in honor of Wallace Notestein offers interpretations of Stuart history extending over the entire period. David Willson discusses James I's noble dream of Anglo-Scottish unity, unrealized in his lifetime, but, unlike most of his projects, eventually fulfilled. F. G. James sees Queen Anne forced into a compromise between high church and latitudinarian episcopal appointments. Harold Hulme interprets and summarizes the English constitution in the days of Charles I. On the basis of her extensive investigation of the lives of members of the Long Parliament, Mary Frear Keeler examines the composition and significance of important committees elected in its opening months. William Sachse describes the interesting pamphlet propaganda for the King distributed during the last critical weeks before his execution in January 1649. William Aiken, editor of this collection until his death, paints a sordid picture of the admiralty during the last years of Charles II's reign and makes more difficult than ever acceptance of

traditional praise for Stuart naval efficiency by forcing a realization of the total inadequacy of England's major defense in a period of crisis at home and abroad.

Two of the most original essays deal with patents and monopolies and with population problems. Mildred Campbell highlights disputes which complicate any solution of questions concerning the relation of statistical estimates and the flow of emigration overseas. Elizabeth Foster brilliantly surveys the stand taken by the Commons in the investigation of facts about patents and monopolies and emphasizes their reliance on the idea that grievances being the special province of representatives of the realm, the house was a court with jurisdiction over such offenses. A vast amount of new material on the Commons of 1624 has been utilized, and the result makes obvious the crying need for publication of the manuscript debates.

Willson Coates's analysis of major conflicts in seventeenth-century England enters the stormy arena where historians battle over the gentry. Some suggestions from a paper read by the late Alexander Thomson are summarized, and sensible, judicious reflections on the nature of the social and political revolutions are provided by the author.

It is fitting that one of the most graceful essays should be Hartley Simpson's introductory tribute to Wallace Notestein and to the intellectual companionship and warm friendship that exists between the Sterling Professor and his many students. As a teacher, Notestein excels in the arts of conversation and discussion. He engages in these in classroom, library, campus, apartment, and (as I will testify) on shipboard and under the portico of the British Museum. A "scholar-teacher," "his academy was wherever he was," Simpson admirably summarizes Notestein's enormous contribution to English parliamentary history in his conception of the role of the parliamentary diary in the interpretation of Stuart struggles and in his high standard of investigation and editing, in which it may be noted Simpson himself has had an honorable and important part. "The Winning of the Initiative," an account of the tactics of procedure read to the British Academy in 1924, has stood the test of time. Nor has Notestein disdained the work of the popularizer in his *English Folk*, *The Scot in History*, *Four Worthies*, and *The English People*. Let us hope that the efforts of his students here collected will inspire this indestructible scholar to yet further adventures in Stuart history.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE REIGN OF GEORGE III, 1760-1815. By *J. Steven Watson*. [Oxford History of England, Volume XII.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xviii, 637. \$8.00.)

THERE has long been need for an up-to-date general history of Britain under George III. The best of the older standard histories covering this period, by Sir Charles Grant Robertson, was first published almost fifty years ago, and since that

time research and reinterpretation have altered parts of the story out of recognition. Mr. Watson's volume conforms in general with the pattern of its series, save that it is rather more exclusively devoted to straight political narrative; and there is much to praise. It is highly satisfactory to have an account of these years incorporating the fruits of recent scholarship and freed from the distorting views about political and constitutional conditions implanted in the "received story" by Erskine May a hundred years ago and followed thereafter by some of the most prominent of two generations of historians. Watson marshals his facts with practiced facility within the scaffold erected by Professors Namier and Pares, and he contributes new, original points of interpretation. The fact that the British could rest content with a potentially unfettered legislature, whereas the Americans insisted upon finite constitutional checks and limitations, for instance, is explained with illuminating reference to social conditions: "That parliament would not exceed its proper activity was, in practice, to be made certain by the predominance in parliament of one of the major groups with a vested interest in freedom from interference, the landed gentry." Personalities and situations are often summed up in telling phrase; thus: "Pitt lived always on the level of splendid gestures and of clashing forces"; or "the second generation of romantics . . . poets who elevated beauty like the Host to give help to a troubled world." In many passages deep scholarship, sensitive insight, and historical imagination combine to furnish informative discussions of situations and events.

But in some ways this book is a disappointment. The object of a work of this kind is to be comprehensive, precise, and definitive. These aims are not always achieved here. Religious life and personalities of religious leaders and churchmen, the developments and divisions caused by evangelicalism within the Church of England, and the fragmentation of Methodism outside it are practically ignored; Methodism, in the earlier years only, receives barely half a page, Paley, in his time the leading theologian, only three lines. This whole subject deserved a separate chapter. There is at times uncertainty of touch in the handling of foreign relations. Those familiar with the work of Renaut will know, for instance, that the statement, "Holland joined in [the American War] to get her share of the spoils," is a travesty of the facts. For Anglo-Dutch relations in the next decade Professor Cobban's *Ambassadors and Secret Agents* (1954) is authoritative, yet it is omitted from the bibliography. The early radicalism of the reign remains indistinct through failure to isolate and focus, as could be done in less than a page, the ideas of James Burgh, John Cartwright, and Christopher Wyvill. Cartwright receives but one mention, and that under the year 1811. Finally, errors of fact detract from the value of the book as a work of reference. To cite a few: the parliamentary franchise in the city of London extended only to liverymen, not to householders; miscopying of information from a monograph has produced the misstatement (in direct conflict with the whole of Watson's thesis about crown influence in Parliament) that during the American War there were forty-nine members of Parlia-

ment holding treasury contracts, whereas in fact there were seventeen; in 1784 the total number of MP's not re-elected, from all causes including age, health, and inclination, was about 160, yet we are told that "one hundred and sixty of Fox's friends failed to reappear." The Regency Act of 1765 provided for the event of the King's death while his heir was a minor; it did not provide for his (implied mental) "collapse" (if it had there would have been no problem, or a different problem, in 1788). In two pages of the bibliography alone (admittedly the worst) there are eleven inaccuracies in the descriptions of works or their authors, three of which at least will cause trouble to readers consulting library catalogues. Unusual delays and misfortunes have dogged the production of this volume, but in an undertaking of such an exacting nature, another two or three years' delay would have been well worth while in the interests of a more accurate and definitive performance.

University College, London

IAN R. CHRISTIE

NINETEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN, 1815-1914. By *Anthony Wood*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1960. Pp. xi, 476. \$7.50.)

EVERY age, it is said, must write its own history of the past. George Trevelyan in 1922 gave that generation's view of the Victorian era in his *British History in the Nineteenth Century*. Anthony Wood, in his *Nineteenth Century Britain*, presents today's picture of the same era. How much do they differ? Does Wood's version reflect today's international anxieties and domestic affluency?

At first glance the answer is no. His version seems to differ little from Trevelyan's. The strong lines in the picture are the same: an expanding capitalism and a rising population, exploitation and misery giving way to material progress, a rising middle class followed by a rising proletariat, reform bills leading inexorably to democracy, and social reforms to increased state interference. In the middle decades a triumphant middle class repeals the corn law, opposes Chartism, and demands administrative reforms. At the end of the century there are depressions, strikes, socialism, women suffragettes, and, as always, turbulent Ireland. Abroad, the brilliant Castlereagh helps define a settlement that lasts a century, the able Canning opposes the Holy Alliance, Palmerston frustrates the French, and Gladstone stumbles into Egypt. The historian of today, no less than the historian of the twenties, disapproves of jerry-built slums, child labor, and the new poor law. *Oliver Twist's* pitiable fate is retold in both accounts. The conduct of the Crimean War is still disgraceful, Cobbett is still the embodiment of John Bull, and Chartism still fails because of its narrow class basis. In their agreement on what topics are important, in their narrative of events, even in their explanation of events, their agreement is so frequent as to raise doubts concerning the ease with which every age can rewrite history.

There are of course differences. To Trevelyan, Palmerston was a jingoist who,

with Stratford Canning, caused the Crimean War, while to Wood, Palmerston was a responsible statesman, and Stratford Canning tried his best to prevent the war. For Wood the miseries of the "Hungry Forties" have been exaggerated while Trevelyan pointed to the millions who were starving in the forties. Did the revulsion of the nineteen twenties to war and capitalism lead Trevelyan to condemn Palmerston and speak of millions starving while the prosperity and internationalism of the nineteen fifties led Wood to defend Palmerston and qualify the harsher judgments of the "Hungry Forties"? Perhaps so. But a close look at Wood's study suggests that it was, for example, less Prime Minister Macmillan's "summitry" than Harold Temperley's *England and the Near East* (written in 1936) that defines his interpretation of Palmerston. Indeed on every page there is evidence of wide reading in the vast literature on Victorian England, most of which has been published since 1922. It is, in short, the research of yesterday more than the concerns of the present that defines Wood's account, and that makes it a more careful, albeit less poetic, survey than Trevelyan's. Wood has used that research with sophistication, judiciousness, and intelligence. The result is a picture similar to Trevelyan's but more finely drawn and nicely shaded. It is an account which, except for a few minor inaccuracies, should be hard to revise a generation from now. Is it so easy for every age to rewrite the history of the past?

Dartmouth College

DAVID ROBERTS

DEFENCE BY COMMITTEE: THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE, 1885-1959. By *Franklyn Arthur Johnson*. Foreword by Lord Ismay. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. 416. \$8.00.)

THIS book represents a large undertaking which the author has accomplished with a high degree of success. It is a study of the origin, early activities, and functions of the British Committee of Imperial Defence with its subordinate organizations, its offshoots, and its successors. It treats the growth, development, and influence of this unique institution which was created to be flexible, purely advisory, and consultative. It came to be a government within a government without changing its original purpose. With the Imperial Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet this organization almost produced a formal government for the British Empire. The Committee of Imperial Defence with its several subcommittees and its various and complicated relationships made possible during the two world wars not only successful coordination of the military efforts of the armed services of Great Britain but also the efforts of the several Dominions and the United States. It was planned in the beginning to include representatives from the Dominions, and in its growth and achievements it exerted a profound influence upon the constitutional evolution of the Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations. It also influenced the foundations upon which the military organization of the United States was constructed. To a great extent this British Committee of Imperial Defence

was the mother of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Security Council. It was also the basic experience upon which was built the British-American combined Chiefs of Staff, the instrument which so successfully held the two great allies together and directed their combined effort during the Second World War.

Here is revealed again the genius, or the wisdom, of the British people in creating institutions to serve the needs of the state in a rapidly changing age and to meet successfully emergencies of the most dangerous kind. It demonstrates also the success of these same people in being able to make the fullest use of their military power and military personnel while enabling the civil authorities to maintain full control over that power. "There is little danger in power . . . provided it is not irresponsible." This study also reveals the almost unlimited wealth of dedicated competence of such men as Lord Esher, Lord Balfour, Lord Hankey, Lord Hal-dane, Lord Ismay, Sir Winston Churchill, Henry L. Stimson, and General Marshall.

The author has done a vast amount of research on the period extending from 1885 to 1959. He has made careful use of the available documentary sources and has carried on many conversations and considerable correspondence with the men who participated in the work of the committee. He has recognized that many sources are still unavailable to the student, but are held under stern top secret restrictions.

Twenty volumes could well be written to explain the developments which the author has surveyed and outlined with consummate skill in one volume. The study is organized and presented in two main parts and eleven chapters with a brief foreword by Lord Ismay. The concluding chapter reveals Johnson's broad understanding and scholarly insight, as well as his genuine appreciation of the increasing danger with which the Western world must necessarily continue to contend with all of its available strength and resources. Some parts of the volume are cumbersome and difficult to follow, but it is an important study which has long been needed. Every man who is in any way responsible for the organization and coordination of the armed services of the United States should read and study this book most diligently.

Iowa City, Iowa

W. ROSS LIVINGSTON

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM: ENGLISH SOCIAL-IMPERIAL THOUGHT, 1895-1914. By *Bernard Semmel*. [Studies in Society.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. 283. \$4.50.)

THIS book might better have been entitled "Imperialism, Protectionism, and Social Reform," for in it Semmel chooses to discuss these three strands of British thought, but only in so far as they interpenetrate or interact one with another. It is as if each were conceived of as a great circle partly overlying the other two with

the reader's attention focused only on the limited area of intersection. Being concerned with the realm of ideas and not of events, Semmel assumes the reader has considerable knowledge of British affairs from 1895 to 1914. He examines in turn the relevant speeches and writings of the Social Darwinists, Benjamin Kidd and Karl Pearson, of Lord Rosebery and the Liberal Imperialist group, of the Fabian Socialists and the Webbs's aspiring brain trust known as the Coefficients, of Joseph Chamberlain and the Tariff Reform League, of Sir Halford Mackinder and Lord Milner, of the "national economist," William Cunningham, and the "socialist of the chair," Sir William Ashley, of Lord Roberts and Robert Blatchford. The degree to which Semmel illuminates these men, especially the Fabians, and such projects as the proposed "Party of National Efficiency" makes the book both readable and stimulating. British historians interested in imperialism, in the tariff reform campaign, or in the movement toward social reform will find Semmel's suggestions and his juxtaposition of ideas well worth examining.

Semmel argues, however, that an identifiable body of thought which he calls "social imperialism" can be isolated, or more accurately, that two identifiable schools of "social imperialism" existed, one concerned with industrial production, employment, and manpower and associated with tariff reform and the Unionist party, the other concerned with finance and commerce, with national efficiency and "breeding an imperial race" in a reformed environment, but chained to free trade concepts. Some readers may be more troubled than assisted by Semmel's use of "social imperialism" as an analytical concept. Imperialists no doubt said and believed that the Empire was essential to the well-being of the British workingman and that healthy, satisfied workmen were essential to the Empire; and protectionists certainly argued that tariffs would increase employment and dampen class antagonisms. Many deeper ideas were also abroad in the land, and there were two great political parties using these ideas as best they might, attracting to themselves original minds who agreed in part but not wholly with them. But were there really schools of "social imperialist" thought? Ashley alone seems a serious theorist and penetrating analyst. The motives and origins of Chamberlain's policies, by contrast, stand inadequately revealed or beset with inconsistencies. Perhaps a stronger concluding chapter, one with less extraneous material, would have clinched the thesis or convinced more readers. The book is on the whole very well written, however, and if some find the necklace of debatable design, all should agree that the beads are mostly carefully wrought.

Long Beach State College

RICHARD H. WILDE

THE PERSECUTION OF HUGUENOTS AND FRENCH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1680-1720. By *Warren C. Scoville*. [Publications of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of California.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. x, 497. \$6.50.)

CRITICS of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes are legion, especially those who base their hostility to the act on grounds of economic inexpediency. Napoleon, for instance, believed that the Protestants were his "best subjects. They serve me with zeal and distinction. . . . The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes worked a great injury upon the state: it drove industries and artisans to foreign lands. I have seen a swarm of French refugees in Prussia and as far as the northern parts of Poland. That's what comes of persecutions!"

In this scholarly and well-written study Scoville seeks to determine to what extent the harassment of Huguenots and *nouveaux convertis* and the emigration of some 200,000 of these people were responsible for the economic depression existing in France from 1684 to 1717. As a corollary to this, he seeks to estimate the benefits wrought by the immigration of Huguenot refugees upon other societies. In one sense his research has led him to negative conclusions. In his preface he candidly admits that "I have long been intrigued by those hypotheses or presumably accurate interpretations of historical facts which suggest that the expulsion of religious minorities . . . has frequently had baneful repercussions upon economic activity and has slowed the rate of economic growth. . . . If historians and sociologists could demonstrate that such persecution usually has recoiled as a boomerang upon the persecutors, it might help improve human and social relationships." With this purpose in mind, Scoville proceeded to investigate the nature of the disabilities heaped upon the Huguenots and the *nouveaux convertis* before and after the Revocation, the extent, incidence, and consequences of the emigration, and the impact of the revocatory legislation on a wide range of specific industries and trades within France. He has subjected the secondary literature on the history of the Huguenot minority to critical examination and has made effective use of materials in the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français. For information on the benefits brought by refugees to the lands that eagerly received them, he has relied upon materials in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères and standard secondary works dealing with the economic histories of these countries.

The results? At first sight, it would appear that history corroborates the views inspiring his study. Numerous French officials, from the Revocation on, attributed the increased difficulty in collecting taxes, the decay of industries, the decline of foreign trade, and the concomitant increase in foreign competition to the effects of the Revocation. But, upon closer examination, quite a different picture appears. "As a result [of excessive penalization of Huguenots after 1685] their religious convictions and courage were fortified and their devotion to business increased markedly. Throughout the eighteenth century Protestants strengthened rather than weakened their position in French economic life." In studying various trades and industries, Scoville demonstrates in case upon case that neither emigration nor religious harassment had the economic impact so often attributed to them. Either enough Catholics were present to take the place of the refugees or, more often,

those Huguenots who remained managed to accommodate themselves to their position as a penalized minority and continued to render valuable services to the nation. If one seeks to isolate the causes of the economic depression in France so often attributed to the Revocation, the author concludes, one must give priority to other factors: the ravages caused by natural disasters upon agriculture and the repercussions of these upon the economy as a whole, the economic consequences of Louis XIV's wars, the ossification of Colbert's mercantile system, and the incompetent attempts of his unimaginative successors to make that system work by piling regulation upon regulation.

If the direct economic loss to France was slight, the gain by foreign states was more marked. According to Scoville's calculations, by 1715 Huguenot *émigrés* constituted 25 per cent of the population of Geneva, 20 per cent of the population of Berlin (and more than one-third of the officer corps in the Prussian army), and 5 per cent of the total population of the United Provinces. More important than their numbers were the wealth and technological knowledge they took with them to England, Holland, and to the economically more backward states of Germany. Scoville concludes that the economic contributions of the refugees were not alone sufficient to explain the greater economic stability of these states during the period 1683-1715, but it is clear from the evidence that they made a real contribution there to the development of industries, some of which soon competed successfully with French manufactures in the same fields. In both England and Prussia Protestant refugees were sufficiently numerous and influential to constitute important pressure groups agitating against the conclusion of commercial treaties favorable to France.

Scoville's facts and interpretations may sometimes require qualification. There were almost certainly not 1,000,000-1,500,000 Protestants in mid-eighteenth-century France; the likely figure for this period is closer to 600,000. The large majority of those whose conversion was forced remained at least nominal Catholics even after it became relatively safe for them to return to their former faith. It should also be pointed out that those who sought to return to Protestantism freely and legally did not have to wait until the legislation of Napoleon, as the author implies; freedom of conscience was guaranteed by the Rights of Man and liberty of cult by the constitutions of 1791 and 1793. But the author is eminently successful in laying to rest the legend of the baleful effects of the Revocation upon French economic life. His study is a splendid piece of work.

Pomona College

BURDETTE C. POLAND

ISTORIJA PARIZHSKOI KOMMUNY, 1871 [History of the Paris Commune, 1871]. By P. M. Kerzhentsev. (Moscow: Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1959. Pp. 511.)

This study, originally published in 1940, was reissued in 1959, so the editors

tell us, in response to professional demand as "a valuable aid for historians and all those desiring to study profoundly the history of the Paris Commune," which, we are told, was the "glorious forerunner of the Great October Socialist Revolution." Kerzhentsev's aim is to provide a "general sketch of the history of the Paris Commune in its basic stages and elements." He begins with a characterization of the French proletariat in the 1860's, when he finds an organizational "gathering of forces" and a growing awareness of the "bankruptcy" of non-Marxian socialism. In 1870 the process of proletarian ideological and political clarification was not complete, but the "advanced workers" had the correct "instincts" and were moved in the spring of 1871 not by false doctrines like those of Proudhon and Blanc, but by the visceral stirrings of instinctual proletarian consciousness. The authority of Lenin is invoked in support of this assertion: "The revolutionary instinct of the working class broke through in spite of erroneous theory."

Kerzhentsev's study takes up the subject with the overthrow of the imperial regime on September 4, 1870, and concludes with the destruction of the Commune on May 28, 1871. He divides these months into two main periods, the first of six and a half months being the "period of organization and mobilization of the working masses" and the final two and a half months the period of the Commune. Thiers and his government are characterized acidly as a treacherous fore-gathering of "liberals" pretending a concern for national defense while preparing surrender to the Prussians and destruction of the spontaneously organized institutions of the masses. The patriotic defensiveness of the Paris proletariat is conceived here as an element in an emergent socialist consciousness and a sign of proletarian determination to fend off militarism and to protect the working-class institutions created in the course of the siege. Thus does Kerzhentsev dismiss the interpretation of the Parisian workers' behavior as inspired more by patriotic than by socialist or revolutionary motives.

The author uses the sources made available by French scholars and delves intelligently into contemporary journalistic treatment of the events of 1870-1871 in France. His bibliography shows a familiarity with Western historiography, although he omits Kranzberg's *The Siege of Paris 1870-1871* (1950) from his supplemental list of works published between his own first and second editions. There is an entire section devoted to the historiographical contributions of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and the word of the last two is often cited as corroboration of the author's generalizations. Indeed it is Kerzhentsev's doubtless obligatory resort to the tedious rhetoric of official Marxism that renders the book confusing, contradictory, and useless in the sphere of interpretation. The Commune, we are told, was really socialist, the prototype of the proletarian dictatorship which embodied a "democratic" rejection of the methods and values of representative government based on universal suffrage. The Communards produced a "heroic attempt . . . to turn history against capitalism." Yet, to explain the failure of the venture, the author recurs to the judgment of Lenin (and Stalin) that the French proletariat

was ideologically and politically underdeveloped, that it had no conception of the vital and decisive role of a disciplined party, that it made no effort to establish relations with the peasantry, and that it behaved too leniently toward its class enemies in the name of national defense rather than terrorizing and exterminating them. It was simply not ready for "a serious conflict," he concludes. How a proletariat infected with a false or inadequate consciousness could have created even for a brief time an authentic proletarian institution Kerzentssev does not say, and he seems indisposed to seek for an explanation in the depths, or on the heights, of Leninist or Stalinist historical understanding. Neither is he willing or able to treat the Parisian working class of the time on its own ground and in its own terms. He ends on a note as unhistorical as the rest of his interpretive analysis: "Under the leadership of the great Party of the Communists, the Party of Lenin, the Soviet Union has realized the dream for which the proletariat of Paris heroically fought and died in 1871 under the red banner of the Commune."

Among the reasons for the failure of the Commune Kerzhentsev is careful to include those which attracted Marx's attention in his *Civil War in France* and in his letters to Kugelmann: the failure to nationalize the bank and the reluctance to resort to civil war. Had he written in another country and with any other set of philosophical or methodological guides, he might have had some use in a more sophisticated evaluation for Marx's remark in a letter to Domela Nieuwenhuis, written in February 1881: "... apart from the fact that this was merely the rising of a town under exceptional conditions, the majority of the Commune was in no sense socialist, nor could it be."

Hamilton College

CHARLES C. ADLER, JR.

APROXIMACIÓN A LA HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA. By *Jaime Vicens Vives*.
[Centro de Estudios Históricos Internacionales, Series A, Estudios, Number 1.]
(2d ed.; Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona. 1960. Pp. 244.)

THE originality and brilliance of this compact survey of Spanish history are the measure of the loss that peninsular historical studies have suffered in its author's tragic death. First published in 1952, the work is no introductory manual, but a relatively advanced conspectus of the problematics and interpretations of Spain's development in every era from the Lower Paleolithic to the outbreak of the Three Years' War in July 1936. Its pages reflect the vigorous methodological discussions of the last two decades at the University of Barcelona, the revisionist impact of recent literature in the field, and, above all, Vicens' own dynamic drive—evidenced not only here but also in his numerous books and papers and his inspiration of such invaluable (and, we trust, continuing) enterprises as the Centro de Estudios Históricos Internacionales, the *Índice histórico español*, the *Estudios de historia moderna*—to bring Spanish historiography fully into line with the most advanced modern scholarship.

This new edition of the *Aproximación*, after eight years of successful circulation of the first, richly renews its value by revisions at many points in the light of reappraisal of major issues, by the addition of several new chapters, and by inclusion of one-page commentaries which explain changed viewpoints since the original edition, cite recent contributions, and note questions calling for future research. The book gives approximately equal treatment to the centuries before and after 1500, and its interpretations, as those of an expert in both the medieval and modern periods and of a Catalan passing cool judgment upon the prejudices of the dominant Castilian nationalist school, are consistently illuminating and refreshing. Following the current trend, Vicens drastically subordinates the impact of the Roman, Visigothic, and Moslem conquests to a basic Hispanic ethnic continuity dating from prehistoric times. On the hotly controversial question of the making of medieval Spanish civilization, nevertheless, he frankly, if discriminately, prefers the Castro thesis to that of Sánchez-Albornoz, particularly with regard to the role of Sephardic Judaism. Treatment of the subject of national unification, both before and after the Catholic kings, is examined in terms of the permanent interplay of peripheral, especially Catalan, regionalism with Castilian centralizing ambitions. Much emphasis is given also to Spain's long time lag in developing a significant bourgeoisie and accompanying capitalistic structure, which resulted in inability to keep pace with European social and economic advances, in the sharply limited success of Bourbon reformism, and in the inevitable enmeshment of liberalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the dichromatic forces of traditionalist and proletarian polarization.

Finally, mention must be made of the twenty new pages of *Prólogo*, which constitutes, as it turns out, Vicens' last testament to his fellow workers in Spanish historiography. Here, after remarking upon the long-overdue escape from old-fashioned rhetorical narrative, he analyzes the shortcomings of the presently popular legalist, institutional, and philologico-cultural approaches and pleads earnestly for attention to demographic, social, psychological, and economic investigations, employing the statistical method, as the best hope of substantial advance in a field where the vehemently divergent views of Castro and Sánchez-Albornoz underscore the vast extent of the unknown.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

LE PORTUGAL ET L'ATLANTIQUE AU XVII^e SIÈCLE (1570-1670):
ÉTUDE ÉCONOMIQUE. By *Frédéric Mauro*. [École Pratique des Hautes
Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Ports, Routes, Trafics,
Volume X.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. lviii, 550.)

THIS work does what its title promises by providing a survey of Portuguese economic activity in the Atlantic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It should be added that the dates 1570-1670, which the title gives as the chronologi-

cal limits of the work, are only approximate and that Mauro includes much information both earlier and later than these years. The survey is a very thorough one, and if the work will scarcely be read for pleasure, it will be an extremely useful quarry of information.

Proof of the encyclopedic character of this ambitious study is furnished by the bibliography, which covers over fifty pages. It is no mere window dressing, as Mauro adds a comment or two regarding every work of any importance he mentions. Included in the bibliography are archives in Portugal, the Atlantic islands of Portugal, Brazil, various continental European countries, and the United States; there may be omissions, but the scholar who detects them will be a specialist on even a minuter scale than Mauro.

The book is organized on a logical basis, beginning with navigational material which includes types of ship, techniques of sailing, and commercial routes, with data on winds, currents, and weather. It is interesting and gratifying to note that Mauro borrows much of this data, with full acknowledgment, from publications by the United States Navy. Proceeding next to more purely economic matters, Mauro analyzes what he calls "Les grands produits," those which figured most heavily in Portuguese trade. In the order mentioned these are timber, slaves, sugar, fish and other products of the sea, wheat, and goods that can be labeled "miscellaneous," such as wine, tobacco, cotton, cochineal, and other dyestuffs. For each of these the author has well-documented pages describing the conditions under which they were produced, the method of movement or shipment, and the prices finally obtained for them in (chiefly) European markets. The final section of the book is a discussion of the media of trade. There is an estimation of money and its value (one of the author's most valuable contributions, for it is always difficult for the historian to cope with the currency of another age), the hazards offered commerce by pirates, the status of international law at that time, relations between states, and the rules of seaports in dealing with alien ships and shippers.

This work will not be superseded for a long time as a book of reference. Mauro has striven for neither charm nor style, and his work will have no appeal to the general reader, French or otherwise. Yet for anyone concerned with creating the history of Portugal from the "raw materials," his will be one of the important raw materials.

University of Illinois

CHARLES E. NOWELL

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE STUDIES: A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE
CECILIA M. ADY. Edited by *E. F. Jacob*. (New York: Barnes and Noble.
1960. Pp. 507. \$12.50.)

SIXTEEN scholars have contributed to this well-deserved tribute to a distinguished member of that remarkable group of Englishwomen to whom historical scholarship in the last generation has been so deeply indebted. One can only regret

that Miss Ady did not live long enough to see it in print. Her death in 1958 in her late seventies ended a scholarly career that was active to the last, as is demonstrated by her fine chapter in the *New Cambridge Modern History*, published in 1957.

A certain lack of unity is unavoidable in a book of this kind, but all the articles have, at least, a common focus in Renaissance Italy. After the general introduction by the editor, E. F. Jacob, the first two chapters discuss various aspects of the impact of the Italian Renaissance on Western Europe. The next six chapters are concerned with special problems of state government, military, political, and economic. These constitute the portion of the book most closely related to Miss Ady's own lifelong interests, and their authors share her predilection for detailed archival research. There is interesting new material in the two companion chapters by L. F. Marks on "The Financial Oligarchy in Florence under Lorenzo" and by Nicolai Rubenstein on "Politics and Constitution in Florence at the End of the Fifteenth Century." A novel emphasis on the feudal element in the despotic principalities characterizes Buena de Mesquita's study of "Ludovico Sforza and His Vassals" and that of P. J. Jones on the Malatesta of Rimini. The latter also demonstrates that there was a more extensive survival of the forms at least of communal government under the Malatesta lordship than has generally been realized. More studies of this kind are needed to furnish us with a concrete picture of how the governments of the Italian *signori* actually functioned. In the same way Peter Partner's chapter on the "Budget" of the Roman *curia* gives valuable insights into the practical workings of papal administration. The relative decline of the pope's "spiritual" revenues as compared to those drawn from the Papal States, which his statistics show, is particularly noteworthy, as is also the evidence that the sale of curial offices as a means of floating long-term loans was one of the principal hindrances to effective reform of papal government.

The remaining chapters are concerned with literature and art and include contributions by such distinguished scholars as Sir Maurice Bowra and Edgar Wind. For the general historian, E. H. Gombrich's account of the Medici patronage of art is one of the most interesting, but students of Neo-Latin literature will welcome John Sparrow's spirited and beautifully illustrated defense of the original writing of the humanists, a couple of sentences of which are worth quoting even at the risk of overburdening a brief review:

Anyone who thinks that by imitating the form of existing models a writer disables himself from sincerely expressing his own feelings, or from expressing them with artistic originality, can know little of the ways in which the impulse to create fulfills itself in poetry and prose. And those who dismiss the Latin poetry of the Renaissance *a priori* as artificial and insincere because it is imitative betray a particular ignorance of what imitation of the classics meant, both in art and in life, to the humanists of the time.

In conclusion, the chapters maintain an unusually high standard of excellence and together form a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Italian

Renaissance. The book is handsomely printed and illustrated, and I would not note one of the very few slips in proofreading if it did not distort the sense in a way which particularly concerns me. The substitution of the word "doctrines" for "decline" in the quotation from my book, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, on page thirty-one reduces the quotation to nonsense.

University of Western Ontario

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

DIE DEUTSCHE EINHEIT ALS PROBLEM DER EUROPÄISCHEN GESCHICHTE: VORTRAGSREIHE DER HISTORISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT ZU BERLIN 1958/59. Edited by *Carl Hinrichs* and *Wilhelm Berges*. [Beiheft zu der Zeitschrift "Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht."] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1960. Pp. 195. Cloth DM 10.80, paper DM 7.60.)

THIS book consists of nine public lectures delivered by members of the Berlin history faculty. They discuss the problem of German unity as it has developed in the framework of European history from the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire around 850 to the partition of Germany in 1945. The problem of unity is conceived in a broad and not always consistent sense. Sometimes it refers to the attainment (or nonattainment) of political unity in a common state for all Germans; sometimes it refers to the relationship between federal and unitarian elements in the constitutional structure of a given German political entity such as the Holy Roman Empire or the Weimar Republic; on a few occasions it refers to unity or disunity as a general cultural-ideological phenomenon, for example, in deploring that the citizens of the Weimar Republic were deeply divided by cleavages of ideology, confession, and class. The lectures are rather better integrated into a readable whole than is customary in a publication of this kind. They are scholarly despite the virtual absence of a critical apparatus, and their style is superior to the ordinary level of German professorial eloquence. The volume abounds in challenging hypotheses and stimulating observations.

Walter Schlesinger provides a brilliant analysis of the foundations of German national consciousness in the period of the crystallization of a distinct "East Frankish kingdom" around 850. Wilhelm Berges successfully criticizes many clichés still current about the imperialism of the Saxon, Salian, and Hohenstaufen period. Herbert Helbig describes the increasingly dominant role played by the territorial states within the Holy Roman Empire in the years 1250-1500. Carl Hinrichs analyzes the failure of all *Reichsreform* projects and the deepening of disunity in the "Confessional Age." Gerhard Östreich gives a superb sketch of German constitutional life in the period when the emergent Austro-Prussian dualism transcended the long-standing clash between imperial authority and princely liberties (1648-1789). Richard Dietrich covers the final dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and the establishment of the 1815 Confederation, which

he judges to have been the best that was objectively attainable in the light of internal and external obstacles to a more closely knit unity. Walter Bussmann gives a series of balanced if overcautious judgments on the attitude of Europe toward the Bismarckian Empire. Hans Herzfeld concludes with a brilliant lecture on the German problem in the era of the two world wars, which contains more incisive judgments on that disputed topic than any other brief essay known to me. He shows that the internal obstacles to German unity have progressively diminished since Bismarck achieved his tour de force, but he also frankly faces the tragic fact (recently emphasized by Ludwig Dehio) that German unity constituted a challenge to the European equilibrium which was bound to lead to the First World War though Imperial Germany had (unlike Nazi Germany) no specific design to dominate the Continent. Herzfeld believes that Adenauer's Germany has at last found the proper synthesis between healthy national feeling and European cosmopolitanism. He wisely abstains from presenting any plan for German unification while obviously believing that a united Germany can only be conceived as an extension of the Federal Republic. The entire volume is laudably free from nationalist bias despite the explosive nature of its subject matter in contemporary Germany.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

MOLTKE. By *Eberhard Kessel*. (Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag. 1957. Pp. 807. DM 48.)

KESSEL's biography of Moltke is a definitive work which supersedes all earlier studies. It is based upon twenty years of research, much of it among materials (like the family papers at Kreisau) destroyed during the Second World War. The book is divided into four parts. The first, describing Moltke's career until his appointment as Chief of the General Staff in 1857, is especially good on his intellectual development and the importance of his years in Turkey. The second, covering the years 1857-1864 in exhaustive detail, is the least satisfactory part from the point of view of the general reader. Some of its sections, like the virtual monograph on the Austro-Prussian military negotiations of 1861, are incongruous in a general Moltke biography. The third section, dealing with the wars of unification, provides a superb narrative which includes many incisive judgments upon controversial points. The fourth part is a well-rounded account of Moltke's career during the twenty years after 1871, especially valuable in discussing his desire for preventive wars against France in 1875 and Russia in 1887, his views on political questions like the *Kulturkampf* and the Anti-Socialist Law, and his relationship with his successor Waldersee. An account of Moltke's personal life is skillfully woven into the narrative of his professional work. Missile age readers attuned to permanent international crisis will feel nostalgia when learning that Moltke retained his key position as Chief of Staff until his

voluntary retirement at the age of eighty-eight and could protect his health by spending only half the year in his Berlin office. He devoted the remainder of the year to managing his Kreisau estate and taking the waters at Bad Gastein.

Kessel's picture makes Moltke appear as a far more traditional figure than the champion of "total" national war depicted by Stadelmann (1950) and Ritter (1954) in their important studies. Moltke was too cool a man to sympathize with fervid nationalism, too rational a soldier not to feel appalled by the incalculability of the "total" war levied against him by Gambetta in 1870. He was old-fashioned in never questioning the "enlightened absolutism" of the Hohenzollern monarchy and considered parliamentary meddling in military affairs to be impertinent. His political convictions were virtually indistinguishable from the conventional conservatism of his period. Moltke stood apart from the bulk of the Prussian officer corps mainly because of his broad cultural interests, his awareness of modern technical developments, his abnormal appetite for work, and his selfless and ascetic personality. His character lacked any demonic dimension, and he might have remained in obscurity but for several, by no means inevitable, lucky turns in his personal contacts. The inspiring example of complete integrity and devotion to duty was his most precious legacy to his successors. This work is appropriately dedicated to the memory of General Heinrich von Stülpnagel, one of the heroes of the conspiracy of July 20, 1944, a conspiracy which constituted the swan song of the type of Prussian officer represented by Moltke.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

WAGES IN GERMANY, 1871-1945. By *Gerhard Bry*. Assisted by *Charlotte Boschan*. [National Bureau of Economic Research, Number 68, General Series.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xxvi, 486. \$10.00.)

THE scarcity of analysis in German economic history should make such empirical studies most welcome. Despite its specialized subject, this work was approached with high hope of valuable commentary on the policies of Bismarck, Wilhelm II, world war planners, Weimar democrats, and Nazi radicals, because wages could provide one measuring device for evaluation of these historic personalities and their forms of government. Bry, however, chose to ignore historical implications, concentrating instead on theoretical aspects of wage cycles, and leaving the implications for others to deduce. His concern was to show relationships between wage patterns and the general business cycle. If that theoretical position is accepted, one must wonder why the case study chosen was that in which so many economic and political variables, the worst inflation, the most total dictatorship, the most destructive wars, existed to obscure theoretical constants.

The conclusions, concisely presented in the introduction, are fully substantiated in the text and are remarkably predictable, for example, wage changes lagged

behind cyclical changes. The writer shows more surprise than his readers will that real wages tend to increase as business activity declines. Other unsurprising conclusions are: between 1871 and 1945 Germany experienced a fourfold increase in hourly, though only a threefold increase in weekly, earnings; wage differences on the basis of skill, sex, and age tended to diminish, an apparent result of industrialism; the National Socialist regime was able to prevent both "an extreme rise of money earnings and extreme deterioration of real earnings"; German wage increases were comparable to the English, but were not as great as the American.

After the comment on page twelve, that real earnings in 1958 were about 50 per cent above those of 1938, to the end of Appendix B on page 480, there is little to excite anyone but a wage theory specialist. The text serves as an extended footnote to the marvelous 137 tables and forty-one charts, which apply the conclusions with regularity to a variety of industries, regions, and ages.

This vast array of statistics appears quite accurate and affirms what has been commonly assumed, although it is dubious that by 1944 26,000,000 people could be fed only in communal centers. But for all the weighty figures, one must consider whether their addition to economic history is commensurate with the pages required, whether some editing of the charts and graphs was in order. Although the painfully accumulated statistics may serve as material for the wage theorist, most readers will profit little from the constant reassurance that the 1923 inflation pushed wages to fantastic levels or that the Nazi controls kept wages stable. Nor does the conclusion to Chapter II (The significant result of the comparison lies in the finding that real wage trends tended to follow the economic fortunes of the country and are to be explained largely in these terms.) seem to merit the intensive effort.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

E. N. PETERSON

RUSSIAN CENTRAL ASIA, 1867-1917: A STUDY IN COLONIAL RULE.

By *Richard A. Pierce*. [Russian and East European Studies.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 359. \$7.00.)

RICHARD A. Pierce's survey of the conquest and administration, colonization, and economic development of pre-1917 Russian Central Asia is comprehensive and heavily documented. The book should be extremely useful to students of the period for reference purposes. The author condemns a long-held popular view (there has been little scholarly literature in English) that imperial territorial administrative organization was based on a calculated policy to prevent national combination among the Central Asian peoples. As Pierce points out, nationalism in the European sense was unknown among Kazakh, Uzbek, and Turkmen ethnic groups before the Russian conquest. He writes: "... there is no indication of any deliberate 'gerrymandering' to prevent the formation of national political

combinations against the Russians. That such preventive measures were not taken was simply because they were not needed, as there had never been any national political combinations in the modern sense in Central Asia."

Pierce is plainly an admirer of the first Russian governor-general of Turkestan, K. P. Von Kaufman, whose statesmanlike recommendations had strong civil government requirements inspiration. While Von Kaufman himself may have been "scrupulously honest," others were not made of such stern stuff. The familiar tale of Russian imperial administrative corruption and incompetency has its sequel in Central Asia. Dumping bad officers in Turkestan may have eased the military administration of European Russia's burdens, but not those of Central Asia's governors. These perennial weaknesses of imperial Russia were never overcome in Central Asia; even Count Palen, for all his extensive authority and vigorous investigatory work in 1908 after the revolutionary disturbances of 1905-1907, could not adequately carry through revision against the inertia of placemen.

At many places, and particularly in the section on "Colonization," the reader must be struck by the extent to which the work of Eugene Schuyler still overshadows any description of nineteenth-century Turkestan. This fact is the more disadvantageous to Pierce since his book is sometimes heavy going. The early portion, devoted to the Russian conquest, smacks of the regimental captured-six-flags-and-fourteen-guns school of history writing and is perhaps an unavoidable reflection of the sources used, that is, the Russian accounts published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Considering the detailed campaign descriptions the maps are irritatingly inadequate. But the monotonous repetition of piecemeal conquest and colonization makes an impact on the reader quite in character with the nature of the Russian advance it describes, that is, exceedingly tedious. The chapter on the rebellions of 1916, similarly, is illuminating not because of the dull catalogue of statistics but for insight into the kind of problem leaders of an empire at war must have had in mind in Petrograd as they assessed Russian fighting capability. All in all, however, Pierce has succeeded in describing Russian Central Asia as it probably was, rather than as it appears through Soviet—or anti-Soviet—glasses.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE REVOLUTION: COMMUNIST OPPOSITION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Robert Vincent Daniels*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 40.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 526. \$10.00.)

WHEN Lenin and his Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917, they were not, as often supposed, a monolithic or even homogeneous party but rather an unstable amalgam of two dissimilar groups. One was the hard Leninist core dating back to 1903; the other was the Marxist Left initially drawn to the Bolsheviks

by a common stand against the war of 1914. Lenin and the "Lefts" together carried through the November Revolution on the basis of a leftist program to which Lenin himself briefly adhered. In 1918, however, Lenin switched again and, in turning from revolution to the consolidation of the revolution, turned also from the "Lefts" back to his own Leninists. The withering away of the state, workers' control of industry, guerrilla forms of warfare, the concept of permanent revolution, all at one moment *de rigueur*, became the moment-after evidences of deviation.

Such in brief is the starting point for Professor Daniels' impressive study of the fratricidal struggle within the Communist party which culminated in 1929 with the complete triumph of Joseph Stalin and the dashing of all leftist and many Bolshevik hopes. The oppositionists of these years, says Daniels, were by derivation westernized *émigrés* who thought of socialism as a postindustrial utopianism and were out of touch with Russian reality. By contrast the Stalinists had been Russia-oriented undergrounders who saw their task as the overcoming of backwardness, even if by backward means. Hence, "if it is a law of revolution that the means of violent change tend to become ends in themselves, the Soviet record conforms closely." Leninism-Stalinism became a movement and a philosophy competing with and antagonistic to socialism as socialism is understood in the West or by westernized Russians.

Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech of 1956 has aroused renewed interest in Communist party history as the central thread of the Russian Revolution, an interest manifested in the past several months by major works on the subject by Schapiro, Carr, Deutscher, Reshetar, and now Daniels. In singling out Communist opposition from 1917 to 1929 as his special *point d'appui*, Daniels has the double advantage of having chosen what is perhaps the most fruitful aspect of that history and of having spent as many years in unraveling its mysteries as the opposition did in experiencing them in the first place. Under his skillful handling, "democratic centralists," "workers' opposition," Trotskyists, Zinovievists, Bukharinists, and many more move through their paces and slice by slice fall victim to Stalin's "salami tactic" of elimination.

But why, after all, did the opposition succumb so easily? Daniels says they were "paralyzed by the fear that they might be forced to become a second party, which, according to the pseudo-Marxist reasoning then current, could only be a reflection of antiproletarian and hence counterrevolutionary forces." And why were they afraid of becoming a second party? Daniels does not elaborate, but they had all committed the original sin of abolishing all parties other than their own in the winter of 1917-1918, and, with the right to opposition eliminated outside the Communist party, the right to opposition inside the party soon followed.

As champions of the leftist-utopian ideals of 1917 most oppositionists can no doubt be contrasted with the Lenin who wrote his *State and Revolution* of that year

largely as a demagogic maneuver. The oppositionists, therefore, are for Daniels the "conscience of the revolution," and their history is "the history of the ebbing revolutionary wave." But almost to a man (Daniels mentions only two exceptions) even they clamored for democracy only within the party ranks and usually only when their own fate was directly at stake. When compared with what they helped to overthrow in 1917, the "conscience of the revolution" was surely not conscience enough.

George Washington University

RONALD THOMPSON

Far East

INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE UNITED NATIONS. By *Alastair M. Taylor*. With a foreword by *Lester B. Pearson*. [Published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1960. Pp. xxix, 503. \$7.50.)

FROM August 1945 to December 1949 the new Republic of Indonesia was fighting for its independence from its former colonial master, the Netherlands. This struggle was conducted not only in the fields and cities of Indonesia, but also at the negotiating table and conference board. The United Nations, seeking to define its role in world affairs, was drawn into the Dutch-Indonesian conflict through its function of preventing war. United Nations' intervention was at first opposed by the Netherlands, which regarded the Indonesian problem as an internal affair, but, as Lester Pearson points out in his foreword, the Netherlands had neither the votes nor the influence to force the acceptance of this viewpoint. Once the decision to intervene had been made by the Security Council, a decision which was pushed by world opinion after the first Dutch "police action" in July 1947, an important precedent was set for the role of the United Nations in future colonial disputes.

In the Dutch-Indonesian dispute the various commissions and committees of the United Nations formed to deal with this matter played a decisive part in shaping events and determining destinies. When a second "police action" in December 1948 brought world-wide demands for resolution of the dispute, it was the United Nations which brought the question of Indonesian independence into focus and resolved the final stages of this emergent independence at the Round Table Conference during the last months of 1949. This conference resulted in a transfer of sovereignty to the federal United States of Indonesia which in less than a year was dissolved into a new unitary Republic of Indonesia. This latter event occurred completely outside the bounds of United Nations' action, however, for once Indonesian independence was a reality there was little the United Nations could do to guide the new nation on a steady course.

Dr. Taylor's book, as the title would indicate, deals principally with the

United Nations' role in effecting Indonesian independence, that is, with the period from July 1947 to December 1949. An introductory orientational chapter has been kept as brief as possible, and an epilogue on postindependence matters serves merely to round out and to bring up to date certain issues raised in the main body of the book. The treatment of the United Nations' part in bringing about Indonesian independence is the fullest, most accurate, and least biased that has appeared in print, and this book will most certainly long stand as a basic study of this essential problem in our contemporary world. Taylor has consulted all major sources bearing upon his problem and has succeeded in dealing both with the specifics of the Dutch-Indonesian dispute as they pertained to immediate matters within each of these countries and their relationship, and with the generalities of the dispute which turned United Nations' intervention into a fact of world significance transcending the local issues of this particular dispute. This book should find a place on the reading lists of all courses dealing with contemporary world problems and international relations.

Russell Sage College

ROBERT VAN NIEL

America

ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY: PAPERS PRESENTED IN
HONOR OF ALLAN NEVINS. Edited by *Donald Sheehan* and *Harold C.
Syrett*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 320. \$6.00.)

ALLAN Nevins has done more than any man of his generation to hold open the gateway to history for layman and professional alike. In John A. Krout's felicitous "Appreciation," the contribution that Nevins has made to historical studies is underscored. Apart from his own massive publication record, he has been the originator and driving force behind numerous projects that have so stimulated public interest in history as to make historians, in some cases, rivals once again to the latest popular novelists. This *Festschrift* is witness to another facet of Nevins' career. Fifteen of the hundreds of students who were invigorated by his teaching and contagious enthusiasm have written these essays in grateful remembrance.

Edward N. Saveth's excellent paper, "Scientific History in America: Eclipse of an Idea," appropriately begins the volume. The effort to establish historiography as a science, he remarks, has fared no better with us than it did with historians seventy-five years ago. "Scientific historiography . . . still means little more than a conscientious search for facts and an attempt at their interpretation so as to discover what went on in the past."

Varying interpretations of America's past are the main substance of the papers assembled here. Three are concerned with the South during and after the Civil War—those by Robert C. Black, Donald Sheehan, and Jacob E. Cooke—

all with a mature grasp. Four deal with aspects of American history after 1865 that have undergone intensive study and revision in recent years: Mark Hirsch with a good summary of the literature of urbanism and urban reformers, Hal Bridges with a critical reappraisal of the "Robber Barons," Carlton C. Qualey with a suggestive paper on immigration, and Everett Walters with a well-balanced treatment of Populism. Two thoughtful essays are concerned with the controversy over evolution and the history of pragmatism, the first by Joseph A. Boromé, the second by Sidney Ratner. A perceptive article by James P. Shenton, "Imperialism and Racism," rounds out the papers covering the period through the Spanish-American War. The essay by James A. Rawley spans the years from the Civil War to the First World War in its appeal for a fresh political study of that era.

The three remaining contributions treat the twentieth century: Louis Filler with a superior analysis of muckrakers, Harry W. Baehr with a well-written essay on revisionism of World War I historiography, and Bernard Bellush with a discriminating interpretation of Franklin D. Roosevelt which, while sympathetic, also notes his failings.

The papers reflect Nevins' special interest in the years from the mid-nineteenth century to date. They show, too, the wide reading of his former students and their ability to keep abreast of the literature of their themes. The contributors are aware also of unexplored areas in their own fields of inquiry. What better testimonial of the continuing vitality of stimulating scholarship and the example of untiring quest?

City College of New York

MICHAEL KRAUS

THE AMERICAN HISTORIAN: A SOCIAL-INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF THE WRITING OF THE AMERICAN PAST. By *Harvey Wish*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 366. \$7.50.)

IN the era since Jameson and Dunning pioneered as appraisers of historical contributions and trends, several scholars have turned historiographer with rewarding results. Some of Marcus Jernegan's graduate students at the University of Chicago produced notable papers assembled in *Essays in American Historiography* (1937), and Michael Kraus published a meritorious volume on *A History of American History* (1937)—revised as *The Writing of American History* (1953)—the first work to trace historical development from colonial times to the present, with perceptive attention to emerging schools of thought. Hugh Bellot's *American History and American Historians* appeared in 1952, Thomas Pressly's worthy and unusual dissertation, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War*, two years later, and in the past quarter century other books and scores of articles appraising particular historians.

The past year saw publication of two significant works: David D. Van

Tassel's *Recording America's Past*, a study of causes and trends from 1607 to 1884, and the book under consideration. Harvey Wish's *The American Historian* supplements rather than supersedes books published since the 1930's. It presupposes considerable knowledge of the subject, and it undertakes a social-intellectual account of writings from William Bradford to Allan Nevins. The author's concept of his task is broad and deep. Chapter titles give little indication of subject matter range. Wish builds each around one or more prominent historians and weaves the works of several others into narrative and analytical essays. "Jared Sparks and the Dominance of the Federalist-Whig Historians" appraises the writings of David Ramsay, Mason Weems, John Marshall, Noah Webster, James Paulding, Mercy Warren, Jeremy Belknap, Ebenezer Hazard, and Jedidiah Morse. Ulrich Phillips' writings personify the Old South's image in a chapter that provides valuable notes on Bruce and Wertenbaker, Dodd and Owsley, Craven and Eaton, Du Bois and Woodson, Charles Wesley and John Hope Franklin, Bell Wiley and Gunnar Myrdal, and a dozen more.

Wish's major contribution, however, lies not in breadth but in depth. More than any other scholar in American historiography, he examines historians' social and intellectual conditioning in a conceptual approach that overshadows biographical treatment. His preface to "George Bancroft and German Idealism" suggests that "few historians escaped the sweeping developmental hypotheses that came out of the German states, particularly from Kant, Fichte, Herder, Hegel, and Ranke"; and his masterly little essays on this and other subjects place historians in a perspective that explains their writings.

Wish emerges from the colonial and revolutionary periods with increasing insight and improving craftsmanship, and probably attains his greatest success in treating historians of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His final chapter on "Allan Nevins and Recent Historiography" merits special commendation. He is a constructive critic throughout, as he analyzes assumptions, theories, hypotheses, and accomplishments in a comprehensive contour. Fortunately, he is only incidentally concerned with political background, for inadequate knowledge of that phase of history leads him into error. Perhaps Forrest McDonald's massive tome, *We the People*, appeared too late for inclusion in the appraisal of Charles Beard.

University of Oregon

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

GRADUATE EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Bernard Berelson*. [Carnegie Series in American Education.] (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1960. Pp. vi, 346. \$6.95.)

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. Edited with an introduction by *Seymour E. Harris*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. 252.)

AMONG Bernard Berelson's many talents is the ability to write refreshingly,

perceptively, and with good judgment about subjects that are timeworn and controversial. In this volume on graduate education he surveys the developing discussion of the "great issues" since the 1870's, presents a tremendous amount of data about the contemporary challenges and controversies, and adds recommendations of his own. Historians, especially those on graduate faculties, will find all three of these major contributions to be interesting and pertinent. Even after the American Historical Association's study of graduate education in history is published in 1961, the Berelson report will be a necessary companion volume, for this is the best one-volume introduction to the general problems of graduate education in America in the arts and sciences. In it one learns that historians are publishing fewer titles than scholars in other disciplines, writing longer dissertations (the average in history in 1957-1958 was 352 pages) than scholars in all disciplines under review except political science (357 pages), using the foreign languages in which they are required to demonstrate reading "competence" in graduate school in only sixty-two cases out of one hundred, and seldom (20 per cent) evaluate the present state of their discipline as "very satisfactory" (physicists, about 60 per cent, by contrast). There are data in this volume on many other topics of current interest. The data usually lead directly to the generally admirable nineteen recommendations, though Berelson has not been forced by his statistics to "abdicate the right to think" (to borrow one of Jacques Barzun's phrases).

Berelson urges that "the norm of a four-year doctorate should be enforced" and suggests means through which this might be done. He believes the foreign language requirement should be "left to the departments." Faculties should more systematically recruit students for graduate study. All Ph.D. candidates should be given teaching experience and it should be both varied and supervised. Less fearful (he explains why) than the many prophets of teacher shortages, Berelson concludes that "over the visible future, the national load of doctoral study should be carried mainly by the presently established institutions of top and middle-level prestige." Most important of all, Berelson does not believe the master's degree can be rejuvenated as a degree for college teachers, has many reservations about a "teaching doctorate," and rousingly defends the traditional Ph.D. as a degree for college teachers. I think he is completely right on all these matters. But even when Berelson's conclusions seem to go astray, and that is not often, he surrounds statistics with so much grace and wit that his book is often as entertaining as it is educational.

The volume edited by Seymour E. Harris gives rise to considerably less enthusiasm. Consisting of summaries of conferences held in 1958-1959 and papers prepared by a large number of distinguished contributors, it is oriented around economic questions and lacks the clarity of conclusions that one man can produce as Berelson does. But this publication is a useful one, and one that treats intellectual and pedagogical questions far more than the subtitle suggests. The problem that brings these into focus and that gives the volume a common theme

is that of providing better education at lower cost per "unit" to larger numbers of "units" (historians will prefer to translate this into "student" and "students"). This volume catches overtones of the debate about private versus public education, and, specifically, the question of increased tuition as a way of financing higher education in the 1960's. Considerable attention is given editor Harris' proposal that students or their families make prepayments or postpayments to meet the increased costs of higher education. The principle of low tuition and public education is defended with special warmth in the paper contributed by Eldon L. Johnson, who argues that the Harris scheme would establish "a new kind of indentured service."

Nothing in either of these volumes disproves the contention by Alvin C. Eurich in the second of them that the nation unquestionably has the ability to meet the increasing needs of higher education in the decade ahead.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

THE QUEST FOR EQUALITY: THE CONSTITUTION, CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME COURT. By *Robert J. Harris*. [The Edward Douglas White Lectures on Citizenship.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 172. \$4.00.)

THIS book is in general a highly competent survey of the growth of constitutional law under the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It is written, however, around an extremely controversial interpretation of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896), the celebrated "separate but equal" decision, which the author believes to have been "a compound of bad logic, bad history, bad sociology, and bad constitutional law." The breakdown of "separate but equal" between 1938 and 1954 the author calls a "return to the Constitution." And the principal fault he finds with Chief Justice Warren's opinion in *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) is the Court's failure to overrule *Plessy* as "erroneously decided."

Having participated prominently in the preparation of the NAACP brief in the *Brown* case, I cheerfully agree that the *Plessy* opinion was "permeated with theories of social Darwinism" and carried "overtones of white racial supremacy as scientific truth." Justice Harlan's indignant dissenting assertion that "our Constitution is color blind" is far closer to the intent of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Nonetheless, the author's categorical denunciation of Justice Brown's *Plessy* opinion as "counter to the history of the Civil Rights Act, the Freedmen's Bureau Act, the Fourteenth Amendment, and subsequent supplementary legislation" generates for this reader ever so slight a sense of uneasiness. Although Harris' earlier discussion fails to make it clear, the fact is that the House debates on the Civil Rights Act of 1866 show quite decisively that Trumbull's Senate bill

was specifically amended, at Bingham's insistence, to eliminate a clause that would have outlawed racial segregation. The article by Alexander Bickel, which the author cites as "an excellent account," is devoted in considerable part to demonstrating that very point. ("The Original Understanding and the Segregation Decision," *Harvard Law Review*, LXIX [No. 1, 1955].)

Harris is quite correct in emphasizing the framers' intent to strike down "all class and caste legislation" generally, but segregation as such was not even mentioned in debate by the Fourteenth Amendment's proponents. The best argument for deriving modern authority for desegregation from the First Section is not specific intent, which it is impossible to prove, but Bingham's acute observation that a constitutional provision is not mere legislation but something that takes on its scope and meaning only with the passage of time.

The Plessy opinion certainly looks ugly and inadequate today, and it was clearly at odds with the general objectives of the Republican Radicals of 1866. But behind it there was a host of state judicial precedents, a long history of congressional appropriation for segregated schools in the District of Columbia, an absence of federal judicial precedents to the contrary, and a general social climate of opinion with which Justice Brown's dictum was thoroughly in accord. Clio is the handmaiden of truth, not an instrument of ideology, however high-minded, and the old girl ought not to be kicked around by us liberals, who are after all her best friends.

Wayne State University

ALFRED H. KELLY

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD ARENA: AN ESSAY IN RECENT HISTORY. By *W. W. Rostow*. [American Project Series, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. xxii, 568. \$8.75.)

WALT Whitman Rostow, the eminent economic historian, here puts brush to a huge canvas. He paints a panorama of world history, sketchy for the nineteenth century, much more detailed since 1939, with the United States usually in the foreground, but for certain chapters lost to view. His chief concern is with our past, present, and probable future behavior in handling or mishandling world affairs. Roughly one-fourth of the book represents a marriage of Clio to the crystal ball. The main motif is an attempt to isolate and analyze the "national style," that is, the characteristic American way of solving (or ignoring) national problems. The reader is hardly jolted by the conclusion that the self-indulgence of yesteryear will have to yield to a rigorous belt tightening if we are to survive the Soviet threat to inter us.

Writing history from the headlines has its drawbacks. Little new can be expected, except in analysis and interpretation. In the absence of the conventional

manuscript sources, Rostow's end-chapter notes run heavily to the published apologia of the participants, sometimes with pagelong quotations. The jacket displays a blurred blessing from former Senator Kennedy, economic advisee of the author, whose partisan slip at times seems to be showing slightly. But one can hardly quarrel with Rostow's critical appraisal of the Republican obsession with a balanced budget in an unbalanced world, or with his unfavorable view of staff-work presidential leadership. The author's prognostications regarding Russia are entitled to respect—he is a distinguished Kremlinologist—but one wonders what kind of pipeline he has to Moscow when he makes confident assumptions regarding the inner cerebrations of the Communist conspiracy. His cutoff date was mid-1958, but his publication date was 1960. Some of his conclusions about the Soviet menace would be less chilling, and some of his guarded optimism more comforting, if he had retouched the galley proofs.

As the author generously acknowledges, his brain child was partly sired by a team of behavioral scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The end product ought to be reviewed by such a team, for no one man, much less this reviewer, can boast mastery of all the disciplines involved. The assembly line technique probably helps account for the impersonality of the style, the ponderosity of the prose (hundred-word sentences), and the jargon of the behavioral scientist. The organization is clear, but the skeleton protrudes through the flesh of the exposition, and the repeated ticking off of the one, two, threes has all the inspirational grace of a college outline manual.

Rostow is strong on economics, at least to a noneconomist, and on the intimate relationship of the military to economics. His touch seems much less sure in handling politics and public opinion. In his cogent discussions of what we should have done or ought to do, he often loses sight of what public opinion will permit. The impact of the "I wanna go home" movement in 1945 does not receive the attention it deserves. The author knows the twentieth century much better than the nineteenth, in connection with which he incidentally re-embalms a half dozen or so of the classic myths of American diplomatic history. He is properly concerned with Franklin Roosevelt's bowing to expediency in World War II, during which we threw long-range objectives to the wolves of short-range goals. But fearsome secret weapons were in the making, and there are worse fates than a failure to attain the millennium. One is to lose a war.

But whether history, economics, sociology, social psychology, or prophecy, this is an impressive effort by a first-class mind (or battery of minds) to grapple with global problems. As several books stuffed into one, it is a *sui generis*. As an all-purpose prescription for the general reader, it will be taken in small doses, if at all. But as a position paper writ large, it merits intensive study by the policy planners on the Potomac.

Stanford University

THOMAS A. BAILEY

LAW AND AUTHORITY IN EARLY MASSACHUSETTS: A STUDY IN TRADITION AND DESIGN. By *George Lee Haskins*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. xvi, 298. \$5.00.)

THE last thirty years have witnessed an increasing awareness of the opportunities for investigating the origins and development of American legal institutions. A few significant monographic studies have appeared, either emphasizing comparative institutional trends or focusing on the legal history of specific colonies. Eight volumes of American Legal Records have been published to date under the auspices of the American Historical Association. Other extensive inventory, microfilming, and publication programs are making the judicial and legislative sources more systematically available to the investigator.

Professor Haskins' monograph turns the microscope on the first twenty years of the legal history of Massachusetts. For the Bay Colony these were the formative years when its laws were being shaped and when church doctrine permeated every aspect of life. The author has given us a judicious and perceptive synthesis of institutional problems of state-church development in the colony, using these topics as vehicles to trace the sources and evolution of what he terms "the public-law aspect" of the colonial legal system. The last five chapters deal with substantive law, topics like crime, inheritance, property, and domestic relations, which are treated neither systematically nor comprehensively, but are used to illustrate the sources from which legal rules were drawn and the conditions that developed them.

Haskins will find that his central thesis is now well accepted. He regards Massachusetts colonial law as a blending of Biblical law with a complex English heritage, which included not only the common law and statutes, but the practices of the church courts, of the justices of the peace, and of the local courts of manors and towns from which the colonists came. Indeed, it is the special virtue of this monograph that it utilizes most suggestively local English records to demonstrate interesting and significant parallels. Other views of the author are fashionable today: his presentation of Puritan polity as authoritarianism with a consensual base and his defense of Puritan intolerance on pragmatic grounds. When the author asserts that "there can be little doubt that the freemen of the colony reposed great confidence in the small group of magistrates whom year after year they returned to office," he ignores the Winthrop-Vane election of 1637 and the great purge which assured conformity and support for the victors. The fact that Anne Hutchinson would have received an even more unfair trial at the hands of English judges hardly justifies the way she was badgered during the trial and hounded thereafter. Again, when the author says that the Remonstrance of Robert Child was "summarily denied," he has telescoped much history into a phrase and completely overlooked the disingenuous behavior of the magistrates as evidenced by the "Parallels" they prepared.

Haskins has brought his rich legal scholarship to bear on a number of problems, and it is inevitable that some are handled less persuasively than others. So far as educational requirements were concerned, indentured servitude and apprenticeship were not the same, although the author treats them together. While the terms of the educational provisions were indubitably based on English practice the colonial indentures of apprenticeship generally went considerably beyond the normal educational obligations contained in English apprenticeship articles. While the author properly considers the question of church discipline, he has made no use of Emil Oberholzer's *Delinquent Saints*, a masterly examination of church discipline in colonial Massachusetts, and there are other curious bibliographic omissions. To say, on the basis of J. T. Adams' *Founding of New England*, that the importance of Cotton's code has generally been ignored is to overlook a considerable body of literature on "Moses his Judicalls" and its influence. There is no doubt, as Haskins points out, that the Puritans derived their notions of partible succession from prevailing customs, notably in the manors of eastern England, but, as regards the double portion for the eldest son, Haskins has found only one instance in England. Yet, this isolated example encourages him to assert that a comparison of the Deuteronomic and Massachusetts systems "on the basis of a seventeenth century exposition of the Hebrew law by John Selden almost certainly eliminates the possibility" of Mosaic influence. Cotton's code provided a double portion for the eldest son of both real and personal property and cited as authority Deut. 21:17 and I Chron. 5:1. This provision was embodied in the Body of Liberties, and so eminent an authority as Peter Oliver, Chief Justice of the Bay Colony, declared in 1773, in the course of a conversation recorded by Ezra Stiles, that the descent of property in Massachusetts was "neither according to England in general or Co[unty] of Kent, but Mosaic." At other times Haskins' parallels to English usage seem a little forced. He considers the Massachusetts punishment of treble restitution for theft (in accordance with Exod. 22:4) similar to a Yorkshire punishment of confession and public repentance for a like crime. Others will view the matter quite differently. In fact, multiple restitution, which normally was followed by sale in servitude for default, was a distinctive and reformist aspect of the Massachusetts criminal code, although isolated English statutes for "fringe" property crimes do impose it as well.

Haskins plans to continue the story of the legal development of Massachusetts down to the Revolution. Historians and legal scholars will welcome the dedication of his talents to this important purpose and will look forward to his treating in depth many of the topics considered in this book and to producing what may well become a definitive legal history of a seminal colony.

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume II, JANUARY 1, 1735, THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1744. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.* [Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1960. Pp. xxv, 471. \$10.00.)

THIS is the second of a projected forty volumes of Benjamin Franklin's papers being published under the general editorship of Professor Leonard Labaree and under the sponsorship of the American Philosophical Society and Yale University. It covers the ten years from 1735 through 1744.

In this volume appear, in due course, selections from *The Pennsylvania Gazette* and *Poor Richard*. The volume also contains numerous letters by Franklin and his letters from such figures as Joseph Morgan, James Logan, Gilbert Tennent, Cadwallader Colden, and others. Here, too, are reprinted pamphlets by Franklin "On Protection of Towns from Fire" and several controversial papers on religious problems, Franklin's famous explanation of the "New Invented Pennsylvania Fire-Places," Articles of the Union Fire Company, papers of the Library Company, the preface to James Logan's translation of Cicero's *Cato Major*, "The Drinkers Dictionary," and other papers; it also contains a calendar of Franklin's post office account books from 1737 to 1753.

The high standard of editorial excellence established in the first volume of this series is consistently maintained in the second. The editors' introductions to the documents are excellent, as are the footnote citations and explanations. Included in the volume are a condensed restatement of the criteria of selection, reproduction, and editorial correction, a chronological table of the principal events in these years of Franklin's life, a series of illustrations, mostly facsimile reproductions of title pages of publications by Franklin, and a map of "Franklin's Philadelphia, 1723-1776," drawn by Crimilda Pontes. The editors have shown great critical acumen in attributing or not attributing to Franklin documents formerly thought to be his, and the editorial comments demonstrate careful research and sharp critical evaluation of the documents.

One of the surprises experienced in reading the papers printed here is the discovery that the genial Franklin, in this period of his life, was involved in a number of controversies, some bitter, and that he made numerous enemies. He became involved, for example, in the bitter controversy among the Presbyterians which arose over the unorthodox preaching of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Hemphill. He also exchanged diatribes with John Webbe, whom he accused (perhaps falsely) of stealing and passing on to his rival, Andrew Bradford, Franklin's idea of publishing a "General Magazine." This exchange was followed by the controversy that grew out of Franklin's proper refusal, as postmaster, to forward Bradford's *American Weekly Mercury* through the mails.

It is something of a surprise, also, to note that there is a remarkable scarcity of original essays by Franklin in these years. Most of the papers written in

this period, such as "On Protection of Towns from Fire," "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge," or the lengthy "Account of the New Invented Pennsylvania Fire-Places," are of a practical, promotional sort, rather than speculative or even very thoughtful. It is possible, however, to discern the progress of his many-sided thinking in the papers by others that he published, either as pamphlets or in the pages of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. Derivative as most of his writings were, they reveal a mind already fully convinced of the validity of religious and intellectual freedom, freedom of the press, and the pragmatic value of the free communication of ideas.

This brings the reviewer back to the most profound and bedeviling problem the editors have to face, the problem of selection. Obviously, some of Franklin's papers, such as receipts or orders, have no discernible value, historical, intellectual, or otherwise. On the other hand, some of the papers Franklin published in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, in *Poor Richard*, or separately, were almost certainly clearer reflections of his thinking than anything he wrote himself. Such was the long piece, "On Freedom of Speech and the Press," printed in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, beginning with the issue of November 17, 1737. This piece and others of a similar nature are noted in their proper chronological place, but since the editors felt that it was not written by Franklin, it is not reprinted as one of his papers. The editors have, however, reprinted "Dr. [John] Tennent's infallible Cure for the Pleurisy," which is a portion of Tennent's "Memorial and Remonstrance," published the preceding year in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.

It is to be assumed that the Tennent piece was included to illustrate the sort of thing that went into *Poor Richard*, but not primarily to illuminate Franklin's intellectual interests. Without disagreeing with the editorial policy being followed here, one might raise a speculative question as to the criteria by which the Tennent piece was reproduced and the essay "On Freedom of Speech and the Press" was rejected. Should such a vast collection contain only "direct" documents, clearly written by him or to him, or should it contain the "indirect," or peripheral documents as well? If one thinks of the Franklin papers as being the documentary record of a man—or a mind—growing, but not yet arrived at a mature and disciplined creativity, one might plausibly recommend the inclusion of a somewhat broader body of documents, including some which might be known not to have been written by him but which probably influenced that growth or mirrored Franklin's own thoughts.

This is not to condemn the selection or the rejection of any particular piece or pieces. The case is cited only to illustrate the devilish nature of the problem of selection and to present for consideration the idea that the very act of selection must rest upon a sort of philosophy of the man as well as of the job of publication. The editors have chosen to hew fairly rigorously to the line of "direct" documents, and they are probably right, for practical reasons if for no other. Were they to be more generous in the inclusion of papers in which Franklin

took a close personal intellectual interest, even those which can be shown to have influenced his thinking, publication would never be contained in forty volumes, or even, perhaps, in a hundred. Yet there will always be a doubt as to whether this "definitive" collection of papers should be strictly a collection of documents for the documents' sake or a broad and inclusive documentation of a man's mind in the context of his times.

That the friendly historical critic should raise such questions should not be interpreted as indicating an unfriendly opinion of the results of the labors of the editor and his colleagues. On the contrary, the dilemma is recognized as emphasizing the colossal nature of the problem; against the background of such considerations, it is submitted, the skill and acumen of the editors may be more clearly seen and appreciated.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

AMERICAN SUFFRAGE FROM PROPERTY TO DEMOCRACY, 1760-1860. By *Chilton Williamson*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 306. \$6.00.)

It has long been understood that prior to the American Revolution more or less stringent property qualifications restricted the exercise of the franchise in every colony and that these restraints had been largely eliminated by 1860. But there has been considerable vagueness, and even substantial error, about the chronology of the progress of suffrage reform, the contributions of sections and parties to the liberalization of the franchise, and the connection, if any, between suffrage reform and democracy. Williamson's study, based on extensive and careful research in the sources of the several states, is the first to deal comprehensively with these crucially important problems. It refines the findings made by A. E. McKinley with respect to the colonial franchise and completely supersedes Kirk Porter's sketchy work for the national period.

After summarizing the nature of property tests in the later colonial period and estimating their effect on the size of the electorate, Williamson analyzes the changes made in suffrage qualifications during the revolutionary era. These, he concludes, "were the most important in the entire history of suffrage reform" in that "they committed the country to a democratic suffrage." In succeeding chapters he details how property tests were either replaced by nonrestrictive taxpaying qualifications or were entirely eliminated. Also, he endeavors to explain in each instance the particular circumstances that produced suffrage reform and the degree to which the franchise was actually extended.

Williamson makes it quite clear that property qualifications, except in two or three states, had disappeared well before the period of Jacksonian Democracy, that the Turnerian notion that the West led the way toward universal suffrage is the reverse of the actual situation, and that no one political party could claim

exclusive identification with the broadening of the franchise. It is also evident that suffrage reform was rarely an issue that commanded widespread popular interest or that evoked penetrating philosophical inquiries into the rational bases of the franchise in a republic.

The book's major thesis, although it is nowhere very explicitly developed, is that "the principles of late eighteenth century radical democracy" inspired suffrage reform. Yet the evidence presented would seem to lead to a different conclusion. Property tests, however they might be defined, are shown by Williamson to have been unenforceable in practice. Frequent elections and interparty competition for votes very soon made this fact obvious, and the restrictions had to be abandoned. The Blackstonian theory of limited suffrage was discarded not because it was replaced by a new theory—it was not—but because it was simply unworkable.

Williamson might well have devoted more attention than he did to Louisiana, which affords a unique example of a severely restrictive taxpaying requirement. His frequent use of the term "secret ballot" is surely improper when dealing with the ballot before the 1890's. His discussion of the relationship of taxpayer suffrage to suffrage theory is less than adequate. Despite such relatively minor shortcomings, his substantive findings with respect to suffrage conditions in the century before 1860 merit the respect and attention of interested scholars. His interpretation of the forces that brought about the abandonment of property tests is, in my opinion, open to criticism and remains a subject for further investigation.

Rutgers University

RICHARD P. MCCORMICK

THE CULTURAL LIFE OF THE NEW NATION, 1776-1830. By *Russel Blaine Nye*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. xii, 324. \$5.00.)

CULTURAL history is in a sense the newest of the histories, with its methods and definitions still being determined. Because this is true, the author's statement of his purpose takes on an unusual importance. Mr. Nye says he intends to interpret cultural history as "chiefly the development of key American ideas and institutions." Prudently he notes that much must be left unsaid in a single volume, and he mentions some sample omissions. He has not discussed American business or American law. He has not described the impact of technology on American ideas or the contribution of the immigrant to American attitudes. Much, however, remains. He devotes two chapters each to a schematizing of American ideas, to the growth of science in America, to the new American society, to American education, and to religion in America. He concludes with a chapter on the search for a national literature and another on the so-called American style in art and architecture.

This is a good book and yet its excellence is not immediately apparent. For

one thing Nye depends as a rule on secondary sources. This is almost inevitable because of the size of his survey, but it leaves a mixed impression. For another, he fails to make the extent of his personal contribution plain to us. It is only on rereading that we see how able his synthesis is and how much of the secondary material is illuminated by his own substantial learning. The chapter on literature, for example, which seems at first a standard treatment of the subject, is in actuality a perceptive account of cultural and literary relations. Of course the amount of perception in the book varies from topic to topic. Though no one has written with quite such skill about the shifting structure of our new society, the synthesis of ideas in the chapters on the American Enlightenment and the early phases of American romanticism is slightly stereotyped.

One of the virtues of the book is that it deals with a relatively neglected period. If we compare it with the succeeding one, the highly popular Age of Jackson, the contrast is striking. The currents of popularity in history are almost as variable, however, as those in literary criticism: yesterday everyone was writing about Melville and today everyone writes about Mark Twain. Nye brings his admirable resources of historical understanding to the years between 1776 and 1830, opening the period and inviting other cultural historians to follow him.

If *The Cultural Life of the New Nation* has any flaw, it is its moderation. It bears all the marks of self-restraint and sound conservatism. The book is never patently experimental. No one will criticize it for covering too much, for using novel hypotheses, or for trying new techniques. Of this book the irascible reviewer will never say, as he did about David Potter's *People of Plenty*, "If this is history, then a great number of us old codgers have lived entirely too long." Nye seldom draws on the recent contributions of the social and behavioral sciences. In this respect his volume lacks the challenge and stimulation of Potter's book. On the other hand, it should be said again that here is a solid study in a field where the problems are often new and sometimes great. Not the least problem for the student of postcolonial culture is the increasing, embarrassing richness of the materials. Perhaps that is one reason—though only one—for the fact that colonial culture has been so deftly and economically described. No one has written about nineteenth- or twentieth-century culture with quite the art of those eminent colonialists Louis Wright, Carl Bridenbaugh, and T. J. Wertenbaker. But Nye's book represents a long step in the right direction.

University of Maryland

CARL BODE

THE FEDERALIST ERA, 1789-1801. By John C. Miller. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. xv, 304. \$5.00.)

LIKE other volumes in the New American Nation Series, John C. Miller's *The Federalist Era* invites comparison with a predecessor now more than half a century old. In 1906 John Spencer Bassett necessarily drew upon rather limited

materials. Miller has used, or re-used, for he examined most of the same sources for his studies of the Alien and Sedition Acts and of Alexander Hamilton, scores of manuscript collections, contemporary newspapers, and a multitude of books published since Bassett's time. From these, Miller has produced a clear, readable combination of synthesis and original scholarship.

Both Bassett and Miller concentrate almost exclusively upon politics and diplomacy. For the most part they examine the same issues and ask the same questions. Since Miller clearly has used all the recent works on the Federalist period, this raises embarrassing questions. Has the enormous output of the last fifty years provided only details, opened no significant new areas for examination? If so, can the same be said of other areas of American history, or is the study of Federalist politics unique?

On the other hand, real contrasts between the two volumes are visible in the point of view they take. When Bassett wrote, a post-Hildrethian reaction was in swing, and Bassett combined a favorable appraisal of Jefferson with conventional praise of Hamiltonian achievements. Since 1906 we have passed through a period of high Jeffersonianism, and recently a Hamiltonian revival has begun. Despite a caveat in the preface, *The Federalist Era* belongs to the latter school.

Miller praises Hamilton's economic policies with little reserve. In effect, he accepts the Federalist argument that, to ensure national development, the interests of the poor and the farmers sometimes had to be sacrificed. Hamilton escapes serious censure for his approval of the Sedition Act, which incidentally is criticized as a political blunder more than an invasion of civil liberties. Only for the intrigues which contributed to Republican victory in 1800 does the brilliant New Yorker come under heavy fire. Other Federalists are criticized for their narrow outlook ("They upheld only one of the rights of man—the right of property.") and perhaps somewhat excessively for their pessimism, but on balance they emerge favorably. Funding and assumption, the Bank of the United States, Jay's Treaty, the diplomacy of Adams—all receive Miller's praise.

On the other hand, the author frequently criticizes Jefferson, "this shifty-eyed Southerner" who is a master of circumlocution and concealed maneuver. Miller stresses the incompatibility of democratic theory and slave ownership. He considers the Kentucky Resolutions extreme, unwise, and carelessly thought out. He believes Jefferson failed to understand the direction in which history was moving in the 1790's, for he was "so intent upon circumscribing the powers of the Federal government that he ignored its potentialities as a constructive force for the public welfare." Although modern Jeffersonians may find such judgments uncomfortable, they add force to *The Federalist Era*.

Numerous minor but irritating errors of fact have, unfortunately, crept into the text. For example, Miller incorrectly recounts the loss of Fauchet's dispatches, misnames the senator who released the Jay Treaty to the press, and repeats the legend that John Adams left Washington so rapidly in 1801 that he passed

through New York the same day. Footnote references are often erroneous, irrelevant, or confusing; sometimes, redundantly, they cite secondary works and the primary sources from which the former are drawn. The generally impressive bibliography contains several errors. These shortcomings are the more to be regretted because this volume is generally far superior to Bassett's and perhaps the best short history of the Federalist period.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRADFORD PERKINS

LETTERS OF FRANCIS PARKMAN. In two volumes. Edited and with an introduction by *Wilbur R. Jacobs*. [Published in cooperation with the Massachusetts Historical Society.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Pp. lxxv, 204; xl, 286. \$12.50.)

THE stature of Francis Parkman as one of America's greatest historians (perhaps the greatest) has never been seriously questioned. For a time the "scientific school" did look with disapproval at his "romanticism." But that time is happily past, and everyone is now agreed that the writing of history in America would be immeasurably improved if something of Parkman's artistry were attained by more of our own generation.

These two volumes containing over four hundred letters, arranged in chronological order, give us a more accurate and fuller account of Parkman's personality and his growth as historian than has hitherto been available. The editor speaks of his publication "as an autobiography in the form of letters." In general, Parkman's letters do not have the distinction of those written by Henry Adams or William James. Those written from the West to Parkman's family in 1846, however, do have the sharpness of observation and excellence of style that mark his mature historical work.

Professor Jacobs has diligently combed every possible source for Parkman material, and his introduction is, itself, an excellent, short biography. His findings add to our knowledge of the historian's experiences on the Oregon Trail. They tell us more than we knew before of his emotional problems which he eased in letters baring his inmost self to his cousin Mary Dwight Parkman. For readers of the *Review* the letters of greatest interest are probably those exchanged with other scholars. Therein he expressed his standard of writing history, the presentation of a narrative both truthful and dramatic. To the Canadian historian, the Abbé Casgrain, he said "My business is to write true history, and I never consider whether in doing so I shall commit myself either with your countrymen or my own."

Parkman came from a soil that nurtured historians, but certain pressures almost forced him into the gentleman's profession of the law. His own notion of success was to write a great history on a North American theme, which would still the doubts of his father and win the reluctant applause of patronizing

Englishmen. It was almost as if by writing brilliantly on a colonial subject Parkman was exorcising his own cultural colonialism. Not that he or other illustrious contemporaries should have felt a nagging hurt at English intimations of immaturity; in historical writing, at least, Americans were the peers of Europeans. Sensitive to European aspersions on American "superficiality," Parkman always insisted that the foundation be deep, the stage broad. Writing to Lyman Draper for material on Pontiac, "even the most minute," Parkman said that his "appetite, when I am upon those times, is omnivorous." Jacobs rightly emphasizes Parkman's untiring zeal for perfection.

In his own time Parkman was accused of being "led away by the poetical, the heroic, the aristocratic" (John Gilmary Shea's words). Certainly Parkman's well-known aversion to democracy lent support to such criticism. Later scholarship, while aware of his minor defects, has testified rather to his enduring virtues. It is worth noting that on more than one occasion Parkman took to task "romantic" interpretations of history. Writing to the Abbé Casgrain on the removal of the Acadians, the American said, "We have had enough of poetry, imagination, and excited rhetoric touching the Acadian business. It is high time that it was considered dispassionately in the light of the evidence on both sides."

When so much that is good is presented to us (and in such fine bookmaking), one is reluctant to carp. Yet, space which might have been better employed is given over to a lavish table of contents where each letter is summarized. The annotation, also, is almost too elaborate. Letters of small consequence might well have been excluded to make room for letters to Parkman. The few that are in these volumes (in the footnotes) whet the appetite, for they are usually full of the juice of life. No doubt more of these letters will find their way into the biography of Parkman that Jacobs is preparing. Until then our gratitude goes to him for what he has already given us.

City College of New York

MICHAEL KRAUS

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS. By *Wilfred Buck Yearns*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 293. \$5.00.)

THE central fact that emerges from this study of the Confederate Congress is that Jefferson Davis was the dominating figure in the Confederate government, and that he had greater influence on his government than Abraham Lincoln had on the northern one. Although there was a rising tide of opposition to Davis, and accusations of executive usurpations, of personal ambition to be a dictator, and of stubborn refusal to hear criticism or to bend to better judgment, the president kept control of the Confederacy. Perhaps this was inevitable. Certainly in the provisional and first congresses, the paramount task of organizing for war—raising men and money, seeking foreign recognition and aid—consumed attention and forced the legislators to accede to Davis' judgment. Davis was neither a

popular leader nor a shrewd political manipulator, but his efficiency, his single-minded devotion to his task, and his personal integrity won him support. Congress adopted his measures and diverted its growing criticism to members of the cabinet rather than to the chief executive.

In the Second Congress, opposition found voice and sometimes delayed action, but Davis had the support of representatives from occupied areas and the border states. On the whole, Congress followed Davis. No committee on the conduct of the war plagued him, and he did not have constantly to seek new ground, new issues, and new rationalizations for his program. Mr. Yearns's straightforward story, though arranged topically so that a coherent narrative fails to emerge, summarizes the debates in Congress, recounts the criticisms of the administration, and notes that the Confederacy struggled for four years without the emergence of rival political parties.

University of Wisconsin

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

ANDREW JOHNSON AND RECONSTRUCTION. By *Eric L. McKittrick*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 533. \$8.50.)

In this unusual, creative, provocative, and provoking study, Eric L. McKittrick has written a work of major importance. It makes a fine, solid contribution to Reconstruction historiography, and by its approach it raises hard, insistent questions about the drift of historical study in our day.

Taking the first of these aspects first, McKittrick has joined the "revisionist" camp of Reconstruction historians by assailing the thirty-year-old image of Andrew Johnson created in the books of Lloyd Stryker, Robert Winston, George Fort Milton, Claude Bowers, and Howard Beale. Their Johnson was a strict construction unionist, eager to follow Lincoln's compassionate path to restoration, but thwarted, with success almost in his grasp, by the congressional intervention of "Radicalism"—a sinister, two-headed monster, with one face beaming irresponsible philanthropy, the other showing the bloated features of plutocracy, and both breathing partisan Republican fire.

McKittrick will have none of this. He asserts that a great body of moderates, North and South, wanted to liquidate wartime tensions, protect the Union and the national economy against a renewal of sectional attack, and find some equitable place in society for the freedmen. Johnson could have created a powerful coalition by assuming the leadership of this middle-of-the-road group; those outside of it were not united either by conspiracy or consensus. But Johnson spurned this chance. He insisted on an exclusive right to interpret the Constitution. He demanded not merely presidential but personal control of Reconstruction through the pardoning power. He alienated northern moderates and abandoned southern unionists who would not follow him unreservedly. No skill in the arts of patronage or in rallying supporters around some dominant economic issue could

have saved him from his own failures. Misreading the national mood, he flung himself against it, caused his opponents to consolidate, and ended as an "outsider," a characteristic role for him. McKittrick demonstrates all this by a careful, chronological retelling of the Johnson story, based on all the standard manuscripts, newspapers, and documents, and it can scarcely be improved upon.

To be sure, some problems are left unsolved. McKittrick may have underestimated the tensions underlying the superficial harmony of the summer of 1865. One cannot help but feel, moreover, that Radicalism was something more than a combination of anti-Johnsonians. Yet until we have good, modern studies of such men as Trumbull, Fessenden, Grimes, Morton, Chandler, Julian, Sherman, Bingham, Washburne, Shellabarger, Doolittle, and Dixon, to name the barest handful, until we get biographies which make Reconstruction in the North something more than a duel between Andrew Johnson and Thaddeus Stevens, we cannot fairly blame any scholar for shortcomings that arise out of a lack of evidence.

Beyond all this, there are the implications of *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* for history as a whole. When the author interrupts his narrative, he likes to negotiate in the currency of social psychology. He discusses ritual symbols of surrender, he constructs "models" of reconciliation and tests them against actualities, and he uses such terms as "intellectual," "aristocrat," and "marginal politician" not as literary labels but as suggested elements in a sociopolitical taxonomy. While his day-to-day account of events is impeccably history *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, he clearly desires to go beyond the "facts" to use the constructs and hypotheses of the social sciences in order to unlock those historical secrets still unravished by documentary research.

The trouble is, of course, that the marriage of true historical and sociological minds has impediments. McKittrick's "hunches" about the national mood can never be demonstrated by the documents in the way that, say, the genesis of the Fourteenth Amendment can be so demonstrated. On the other hand, one wonders if the social psychologist, accustomed to working from the secure base of statistics and interviews in depth, would be entirely happy with generalizations based on a random sampling of letters, editorials, and speeches. Here again is the old problem of uniting the particular and the general. When history and other disciplines meet to "cross-fertilize," to some extent each must compromise its own basic methodology. This point is not raised to condemn McKittrick, who is to be praised for avoiding the easy escape of ignoring generalization altogether. It is, rather, to ask if a new, combined methodology can and should be worked out. The historical profession owes it to itself to review the gains and losses of eighty years of "correct, scientific" historical writing and to grapple with this question.

Occasionally McKittrick shows a tendency to pontificate, to overwrite (as in the chapter on impeachment, which he correctly styles an "afterthought"), and to offer, in somewhat heavy-footed fashion, "insights" which would come off

better as graceful flourishes of good writing. In some ways, after all, this "modern" work is much like the narrative and interpretive histories of a century ago, without their classical and belletristic adornments, and so a touch of modesty would be seemly. Yet it is a brave book for a first book and does enormous credit to the author.

University of Chicago

BERNARD A. WEISBERGER

WILSON: THE STRUGGLE FOR NEUTRALITY, 1914-1915. By *Arthur S. Link*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 736. \$10.00.)

THIS volume is the third of a continuing series on Woodrow Wilson (*The Road to the White House* appeared in 1947, *The New Freedom* in 1956) which Professor Link originally hoped would be "nearly definitive." On the basis of evidence to date, his aspiration qualifies as a modest understatement. The author, Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford in 1958-1959, is professor of history at Princeton and is editor of the forthcoming Papers of Woodrow Wilson. The current volume is a diplomatic history of issues that concerned the Wilson administration during the first fifteen months after the outbreak of the First World War, that is, from the summer of 1914 to October 21, 1915. There are twenty chapters: following a discussion of the initial American reaction to the war, four chapters deal with the Caribbean, one with the Orient, and fourteen with neutral rights that were being violated by both Great Britain and Germany. As documentary evidence, Link has successfully surmounted the monumental task of investigating (apart from the usual secondary sources) thirty-four manuscript collections in the United States and abroad, almost four score newspapers both American and extracontinental, and a multitude of periodical sources.

On the question of neutrality in the Anglo-German war, Link indicates that Wilson acquiesced in modifications of neutral (which the United States was) rights on behalf of both belligerents. He documents carefully the work of the evangelical William Jennings Bryan, the "black-letter-lawyer" Robert Lansing, the Machiavellian Edward M. House, the frightfully inept James W. Gerard (Link dubs him an "authentic international catastrophe"), the excitable William Gibbs McAdoo, the frenetic Joseph Tumulty, the wildly partisan Walter Hines Page, the avidly pro-British Franklin D. Roosevelt, the comparably pro-German Paul M. Warburg of the Federal Reserve Board, the wily and imperiously Prussian Johann von Bernstorff, the coldly calculating Sir Edward Grey, and a Calvinistic and idealistic Wilson who was capable of "grazing the truth" when necessary. Link's ultimate conclusion, that the United States was completely neutral in this period, appears to be arguable. Wilson's policy seemed to be so, but Colonel House, the Texan "Mr. Smooth-It-Away" who was his confidant and personal representative, was predicting that the United States would soon be

at war with Germany. It is no wonder that after a talk with House, British Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey could leave the Foreign Office for a much-needed vacation, confident that no real danger of a serious Anglo-American break was imminent.

On the questions of relations with Europe the author is gentle with Wilson, but he pulls no punches in the Caribbean and the Orient. Policy in the Pacific was pontifical on the famous Open Door, but erred tactically and substantively by the recognition of Japanese claims based on "territorial contiguity." The Nipponese would later seize the badly worded note to justify their claim to all of China. Link explains the President's strange friendliness to Villa largely on the grounds that the Mexican was hailed in this country as a Robin Hood protector of the downtrodden, as a good friend of the United States, and supposedly the strongest man in Mexico. Policy toward Haiti and Santo Domingo was a frightful failure, a compound of Bryan's incredible "proconsular" appointments and Wilson's dogmatic assumption that he knew what was good for the Latinos, whether they agreed or not. The result was ironic: "an idealistic President who talked movingly of Pan-American brotherhood and of the equality of nations great and small, and who worked hard in many ways to give reality to these ideals, became in fact the most extraordinary interventionist in Latin America in the history of the United States."

This is biography in the grand manner. The weight of scholarship is impressive, but the heavy quotations from diplomatic notes and *aide-memoires* and orders in council will retard the stylistic pace for some readers. This commentary is often made about diplomatic history per se; within that genre Link has written an exhaustive volume. One is inclined to remove the adverb from his original objective of writing the "nearly definitive" life of Woodrow Wilson.

Western Reserve University

C. H. CRAMER

BARUCH: THE PUBLIC YEARS. By *Bernard M. Baruch*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1960. Pp. xii, 431. \$6.00.)

DURING his public years, approximately half of the nine decades of his active life, Bernard Baruch has served or advised many of the men who in that time have ruled the Western world. This second and final volume of his memoirs renders a mellow accounting of those labors and counsels. The account is not without bias, for Baruch approves of his own ideas and achievements, but neither is it rancid, for the author, at ninety, cares less for self-vindication than for a rational and decent order among men. The spirit of that admirable objective informs his often anecdotal narrative of men and events, among them, the administration of the War Industries Board, the Paris Conference of 1919, the adventures of the prosperous and the trials of the poor in the decade of the 1920's, and some aspects of the New Deal, economic mobilization in World War II, and the

abortive efforts since then for international control of atomic energy. Here there are contented recollections of Wilson, Churchill, Clemenceau, and Roosevelt, and, less contented but still appreciative, of Harry Truman. Perhaps in order to sustain an even-tempered tone, Baruch has only rarely published documents that would have given depth to a treatment unnecessarily thin. He has reported much less than his personal archives would have permitted, less indeed than did Margaret Coit. His work is therefore significant not so much for what he actually says as for what it reveals about him.

Three articles of faith dominate Baruch's judgments. Foremost is his feeling for Wilson who "always seemed to say the things that had been in my heart and soul. . . . It was a great crusade, and I count it the finest privilege of my life to have been part of it." This sentiment explains Baruch's exaggeration of Wilson's achievements, his generosity toward other Wilsonians—McAdoo, House, and Hoover especially—and his hostility toward J. M. Keynes. His assessment of Keynes is distorted by a second article of faith, Baruch's belief that "in peacetime the free working of the market place can be trusted to keep the economy in balance." That archaism also obfuscates his understanding of the New Deal, his antipathy for public spending, his rueful conclusion that Roosevelt's policies dampened "initiative and incentive." Self-interest enters this and other asseverations. In general Baruch gives his friends, Louis Johnson for one, too much credit, and his opponents, like Harry Hopkins, too little. At times disingenuous, he says nothing of his influence on the Revenue Act of 1938, which adjusted the capital gains tax precisely to his advantage. This made it less surprising than he implies that the President and the Secretary of the Treasury hesitated to consult him about taxes.

Yet Baruch also has had some share of wisdom, not the least in his third article of faith, his continuing concern for the centralization of authority and responsibility within government. He has had, too, an informed instinct about the problems of mobilization and the uncertainties of diplomacy. And he has had the courage and foresight to support the Peck-Johnson plan early, to advocate a federal relief program early, and still to consider the 1920's "with indignation and dismay." Baruch remains, as always, dedicated to "do something" government and convinced that Americans must look to themselves to resolve their nation's troubles. He has often tried to, and this record of his efforts and opinions, the wise and the foolish alike, provides one important piece of evidence, in itself inadequate, opaque, but entertaining, for history's explorations of his career.

Yale University

JOHN M. BLUM

REPUBLICAN ASCENDANCY, 1921-1933. By *John D. Hicks*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1960. Pp. xvi, 318. \$5.00.)

THIS book seems to serve admirably the purposes for which the New American Nation Series is intended. To sum up an epoch is no easy matter. Yet it is always worth doing. Indeed, I wish that it might be done more often by scholars of the maturity and experience of Professor Hicks. As the mass of historical materials constantly grows, the temptation to spread oneself all over the landscape in the summary of an era also grows. Looking at American history from the practical point of view, I believe that what will best serve the general reader is a clearer understanding of the political and economic developments of an epoch, with due attention to the problems of foreign policy. The materials with regard to these matters must of course be placed in the setting of their time, but to give them the central place gives a kind of unity to the narrative and suggests the type of problem with which the citizen must deal, and on which he ought to reflect. In particular, it seems useful to contrast the economic order of the twenties with the economic order of our own day. Most Europeans, and not a few of our own citizens, have not yet awakened to the difference.

It is elementary to remark that the twenties were a period in which the business mentality dominated. Hicks suggests with good reason that the results of this domination were by no means fortunate. Perhaps, if one were to philosophize about the epoch, one would also say that the intelligentsia of the period did not contribute in any vital way to an understanding of the follies of the time. When such a respected economist as Irving Fisher (who, by the way, was not at Harvard) could say in June of 1929 that stock prices had reached "what looks like a permanently high plateau," one can see that all was not well in the academic world. As for the literary lights of the period, if they contributed anything constructive to an understanding of our political and economic problems, I would not know what it was. Thoughts such as these should temper the harsh judgment of our entrepreneurs, even if we cannot excuse them for their confident ignorance.

There is another view of the twenties that tends to become obscured in a politicoeconomic narrative. As a matter of fact, Hicks seems to deal with one phase of this most skillfully. His pages on the advent of the automobile and of the movie, though not very numerous, are as suggestive an analysis of the effects of these agencies on our society as I have seen in a long time. Man makes inventions, and is made by them. The manner, the thoughtfulness, with which these questions are treated is, in my judgment, admirable.

One senses less clearly the ferment in the intellectual world. The writers of the period may not have had any ready-made solutions to political and economic problems, but they were after all the representatives of a literary renaissance. American literature attained a new prestige abroad. This may have been in part because so much of it was critical, and Europeans love to have us criticize ourselves. But it was also due in part to the fact that the writers of the period were in many instances notable stylists and they got further beneath the surface of

American life than many of their predecessors. It can be maintained with some cogency, moreover, that the generation of the twenties administered the necessary shock to the shallowly optimistic and conventional America of the preceding period.

The twenties have their lesson for us today. Were we recently again in a period of ineffable complacency so far as our political and business leaders were concerned? The answer to this question is not to be deduced from pre-election speeches. It is to be deduced from the willingness of the rank and file of the nation to face up to the complex problems of our own time.

Rochester, New York

DEXTER PERKINS

THE CIO CHALLENGE TO THE AFL: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, 1935-1941. By *Walter Galenson*. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xix, 732. \$9.75.)

THIS ambitious compendium begins with a chapter on the founding of the CIO and its difficulties with the AFL. It moves on to a chapter each on unionism in particular industries, steel, autos, coal, rubber, meat, petroleum, construction, etc., and ends with a chapter designed to pick up topics such as politics, corruption, the Negro, and views on foreign policy slighted in earlier chapters. Professor Galenson used some heretofore unexploited manuscript sources from union files in the first chapter but only infrequently thereafter. The book is based mostly upon printed primary sources; some chapters rely quite heavily upon secondary materials.

If anyone is qualified to interpret the American labor movement from 1935 until the war, it is Galenson, whose research has been comprehensive indeed. But in *The CIO Challenge to the AFL* there is almost no interpretation. Five pages from the end of the text one reads, "In historical writing, there is always the danger of losing one's way in a maze of facts, and of failing to make out the broad design of events. . . . It now remains only to delineate the main trends and to make a few observations that may serve to render the detail more meaningful." After 639 pages of details, many of them related in the passive voice, this belated promise whets the reader's appetite. But, instead of the long-awaited dinner, the reader gets only an outline for a menu and a quick inventory of the pantry's shelves. I agree with Galenson that the late Selig Perlman's job consciousness theory needs at least alteration as an explanation of the labor movement from 1935 to 1941. But Galenson offers us no new theory and does not elaborate his criticisms of the Perlman thesis. Dozens of questions suggest themselves as one reads this book: What was the role of public opinion in organized labor's advances? How, more precisely, did labor fit into the Roosevelt coalition and how did it make its demands upon government after it had made

its political contribution? What was labor's political role at the state and local level? How did corporations that accommodated organized labor compare in their business success over the long run with companies that resisted unionism vigorously and violently and suffered production interruptions? Of just what importance were ethnic and rural or urban backgrounds in union matters? Here and there Galenson offers material relevant to questions such as these, but he does not deal with them explicitly. In other words, in my opinion this volume is too much of an "internal" history, is too traditionally conceived, and is unexcitingly executed.

This book's main utility is as a reference work. It is a convenient source for reliable facts. Yet this is a general book, and one must still consult more specialized studies for details on many subjects.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID A. SHANNON

THE AGE OF ROOSEVELT. Volume III, THE POLITICS OF UPHEAVAL. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1960. Pp. xii, 749. \$6.95.)

In this third installment of his massive account of Franklin Roosevelt's era, Professor Schlesinger deals at length with the American domestic political scene in 1935-1936. As in the second volume, he has reserved foreign policy for later treatment. While we can sympathize with the formidable organizational difficulties Schlesinger faces, we must continue to withhold judgment on whether the exclusion of foreign policy for systematic handling in later volumes is worth the cost of a loss in the sense of sequence.

This volume begins with a short chapter ("Prologue to Stalemate"), in which Schlesinger looks at Roosevelt's situation at the beginning of 1935, and finds the President marking time. "Recovery had proceeded far enough to end despair, but not far enough to restore satisfaction." What should be done next? FDR was uncertain, and while he stalled, matters in Congress were in real danger of getting out of hand.

After this tantalizing glimpse of the indecisive President, Schlesinger abruptly takes us away from the central arena for a tour of the principal political side shows of the time. This section ("The Theology of Dissent") is nearly two hundred pages long. It deals successively with Father Charles E. Coughlin, Dr. Francis E. Townsend and his pension movement, Senator Huey P. Long ("The Messiah of the Rednecks"), the American fascist intellectuals, the new party movements in Minnesota and Wisconsin, Upton Sinclair and his EPIC campaign, Fiorello La Guardia and fusion in New York City, the congressional rebels, "American Plan" intellectual radicals (whose organ was the memorable monthly *Common Sense*), the American Socialists, and the Communist party. These chapters are of varying length, and some of the subjects are fresher and

more exciting than others, but all contain brilliant characterization and illuminating commentary. The reader who does not happen to have much taste for these disturbers of the peace in the early New Deal may resent such a lengthy intrusion into what has traditionally seemed to be the "main" story. In my judgment, this section belongs just where it is. It provides much-needed depth for the general student of the recent past and suggests possibilities still remaining for the monograph writer in the New Deal period.

Schlesinger next turns back to the center stage and stays there for the rest of the book. He describes "The Coming of the Second New Deal" in eleven chapters, the first three taking the story through the Supreme Court's decision on NRA, the fourth, "Breakthrough," telling of FDR's return to the initiative, and the others rounding out the picture. Of particular interest are a clearly written chapter on the confusing Public Utilities Holding Company Act and a chapter on "The Ideology of the Second New Deal" in which Thomas G. Corcoran emerges as a symbol. Notably absent from this section are two major accomplishments of the second New Deal, Social Security and the Wagner Act. Schlesinger dealt with these in his second volume, thus again jarring the reader's sense of continuity.

The remainder of the book consists of a short section ("The Crisis of the Constitution") dealing with the Supreme Court through the spring of 1936 and nine chapters treating the 1936 campaign. It is a tribute to Schlesinger's artistry that he can manage to excite us about an election in which we know all along that one party will win only two states. And it is a tribute to his historical zeal that he can convey the notion that the 1936 campaign was a highly complex affair on both sides of the political fence.

In addition to the Hyde Park collections and the enormous periodical literature of the time, which he has mined with his customary thoroughness, Schlesinger has utilized a number of new sources. Notable among these are the J. F. T. O'Connor diary, which shows vividly the manner in which the administration helped the California Republicans take care of the Sinclair menace, and the Alf Landon Papers, which afford documentation for the thesis that Landon was after all a very substantial progressive who came to the fore in a bad year for Republicans.

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

THE MACKENZIE KING RECORD. Volume I, 1939-1944. By J. W. Pickersgill. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 723. \$11.50.)

A BIOGRAPHER once dubbed Mackenzie King "the incredible Canadian." The appellation was appropriate, for his political career was a consummate performance in the role of the self-effacing, colorless, little man. In fact, he possessed a political intelligence of rare subtlety. Probably no politician, not even John A.

Macdonald, was his superior in the art of successful government, if by success is meant the management of the electorate and the Parliament to keep a government in office. But the characteristics that gave him unprecedented longevity as a prime minister still evoke violent controversy.

This latest book is likely to stimulate further conflict. Its author is Mackenzie King himself, for the "record" referred to is his name for his diary. Pickersgill has tried to let King speak in his own words and has generally restricted his contribution to providing continuity, though occasionally the editor's admiration for his old chief shines through (Pickersgill served in the Prime Minister's office for over a decade).

The editor writes that the diary "must surely be the most remarkable ever kept by a Canadian." Few readers will disagree. Without examination of the diaries themselves, it is of course impossible to say how much has been left out, but what is included is most revealing. Here is King with the mask off, displaying his inner being as no biographer has been able to do. King observes in one of his communions with himself that "dramatization is the curse of our age." This was certainly the creed of his life. But the diaries describe a highly sensitive human being with something of the martyr complex, and his references to being ready to face his Gethsemane suggest that identification with ultimate virtue which made him repulsive to many of his opponents.

These diaries clearly are important sources not only for domestic Canadian history in the King era but for the great issues of war and peace. Though perhaps not as influential a mediator in Anglo-American relations as he would have wished, he participated in discussions of high policy with Churchill and Roosevelt, and much of importance on the war years is here published for the first time, relating to such subjects as Roosevelt's reluctance to run for a third term and his expectation that Hull would be his successor; American proposals for a blockade of Europe after the fall of France; Anglo-American differences in plans for the postwar world; King's struggles to preserve Canada's independence of action in imperial relations; and his fear of American domination of Canada after the war.

This is not a "balanced book" in the sense that it provides proportionate weight to the "great" problems and the "lesser." Much of the detail on Canadian politics is as dreary as King's public speeches. The Prime Minister's developing conflict with Ralston on the conscription issue occupies much space. But these were the problems that most occupied King's energies and attention, and Pickersgill is to be commended for avoiding the temptation to provide his own evaluations, but rather to reflect King's own preoccupations.

The Mackenzie King Record should be read not only by Canadian historians but by all who wish to gain further insights into the formulation of high policy in the war years.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN S. GALBRAITH

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

MODERNE GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG: AUSBLICK AUF EINE PHILOSOPHIE DER GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT. By Fritz Wagner. [Erfahrung und Denken: Schriften zur Förderung der Beziehungen zwischen Philosophie und Einzelwissenschaften, Number 4.] (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot. 1960. Pp. 127. DM 12.) Professor Wagner's *Geschichtswissenschaft* of 1951 ran the gamut of historiography from Herodotus through Max Weber. Once beyond Bodin, the author might as well have titled his work "Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft." Not so with his current monograph, *Moderne Geschichtsschreibung*. Though the first chapter deals with Thucydides, this work is in no sense a rehash of the earlier book. Even the jejune chapter on church history, which may have been written to deplore the divergence between "profane" and church history, demonstrates Wagner's intensive knowledge in specialized fields of historiography. The individual chapters on English, American, and French historiography will support this assertion. Sympathetically and searchingly he develops the ideas of Barraclough (who complains that "history . . . did nothing to prepare us for the emergence of the world in which we live . . ."), Toynbee (who is underplayed), Collingwood (who was affected "by the spiritual epidemic which befell *homo sapiens* in the twentieth century . . . and who combatted with logical bitterness the Fascist and Nazi world"), and Butterfield (who is "Collingwood's antipode—[who] does not complete Collingwood's existential leap—[and who] expects the Christian as historian to attain proper perspective . . ."). The chapter on American historiography deals perceptively and understandingly with trends between the wars. An intimate knowledge of American sources is apparent. It is regrettable, then, that orthographical aberrations, glaring errors in titles and some authors' names recur. Wagner displays considerable restraint and objectivity in not exploiting Beard's belated anti-FDR stance for nationalistic purposes, especially since he displays familiarity with the revisionist school of Barnes *et al.* The chapter on French historiography brings the reader up to date chronologically and academically on L. Febvre, Aron, Renouvin, and Marrou.

University of Houston

LOUIS KESTENBERG

ECUMENICAL COUNCILS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH: AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE. By Hubert Jedin. (2d ed.; New York: Herder and Herder. 1960. Pp. 253. \$3.95.) This book is a translation made by Ernest Graf, O.S.B., of the German original published in 1959 under a more precise title: *Kleine Konziliengeschichte: Die Zwanzig Ökumenischen Konzilien im Rahmen der Kirchengeschichte*. In view of the coming ecumenical council, a short work of this kind by Hubert Jedin, the distinguished historian of the Council of Trent, is especially welcome. After an introductory section on terminology and definitions, the author presents his material in five divisions or chapters: "The Eight Ecumenical Councils of Christian Antiquity," "The Papal Councils of the Central Middle Ages," "The Council above the Pope," "The Religious Divi-

sion and the Council of Trent," "The Vatican Council." Then comes a short but meaty epilogue, "Retrospect and Prospect," a select bibliography, and a chronological table. Neither the German original nor the English translation has an index. Jedin has written a useful little book. As he set out to do, he has placed the ecumenical councils, either in groups or individually, not only within the framework of Church history but also in the broader framework of general history. The characterization of the work of each council is necessarily sketchy, but in almost all cases may be considered adequate. While the author is abreast of the latest research on the history of the ancient and medieval councils, he is naturally at his best in dealing with the Council of Trent and that of the Vatican. The treatment of these two councils occupies nearly a third of his book. Some criticisms are in order. The Eighth Ecumenical Council should have been handled more critically. F. Dvornik's outstanding monograph on the Photian schism is listed in the bibliography, but its use is not in evidence in the text. Several slips noted in the German original are sometimes reproduced in the English translation, for example, on page twenty-five, Demophilus, not Macedonius, was the predecessor of Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople; on page sixty-four, Lateran I was the Ninth Ecumenical Council. Jedin, however, is not responsible for numerous other slips which disfigure the English version. On page twenty-two, for example, *for* Constantine, *read* Constantius II; on page forty-seven, *for* patriarch of Alexandria, *read* patriarch of Antioch; on page sixty-two, Gregory did not fight against clerical celibacy, but strove to enforce it; and on page sixty-five, for the beginning of the reign of Pascal II, *read* 1099 *for* 1109.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

THE GREEK EAST AND THE LATIN WEST: A STUDY IN THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION. By *Philip Sherrard*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 202. \$4.00.) The author of this book attempts to explain the major differences between the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches in metaphysical and theological terms. He begins by examining the Latin addition of *Filioque* to the so-called Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed and concludes that the friction between the Greeks and Romans in their attitude toward this matter arose because of a fundamental difference of opinion regarding the nature of the Trinity. The Romans, he says, stressed the oneness of the divine essence, while the Greeks were more concerned with the distinctions within the divine unity which characterized the three hypostases (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). For this reason, he argues, the Romans had no difficulty in accepting the proposition that both the Father and the Son (being "of the same substance") were sources of the Spirit's Procession. But the Greeks felt that this "double Procession" would have destroyed the distinction between the Father and the Son, and would have led, if followed to its logical conclusion, to the absurd result that the Spirit would be the source of its own Procession (since, like the Son, it was "consubstantial with the Father"). Sherrard then goes on to consider the Latin dogma of the primacy of the pope of Rome, which, he maintains, was derived from the same theological principles that underlay the doctrine of the double Procession of the Holy Spirit. Because of the disinclination of the Latins to admit distinctions within the Trinity, he says, and because of their view of "the totally transcendent and non-participable nature of God . . . Christ cannot be recognized as the actual head and unifying principle of the local churches in *His own Person*. . . . His place on earth must be taken by a visible head . . .," the pope of Rome. It is exceedingly difficult to follow the author's reasoning on these two points, largely because he relies entirely upon argumentation that is often abstruse and refrains from citing or analyzing the original sources. His idea about the relationship

of the Roman theory of papal supremacy (the historical development of which he ignores) to the theology of *Filioque* is fanciful and completely indemonstrable. It should be noted also that, despite the emphasis of the Latin Church on the unity of the divine essence, the Roman doctrine of the Trinity, as the so-called Athanasian Creed (of the early sixth century) shows, made the same distinctions in the Trinity that the Byzantines did. The latter, moreover, also stressed the oneness of the divine essence, as in Basil's Trinitarian formula, "one essence [*usia*] in three Persons [*hypostases*]". Actually, the insertion of *Filioque* into the Creed by a provincial council (Toledo, 589) was the result, not of careful theological argumentation, but of fortuitous circumstances. In view of the bitterness engendered by the addition of this word, it is unfortunate that the German Emperor Henry II had the power in 1014 to persuade Pope Benedict VIII to chant the Creed in the liturgy, presumably with *Filioque*. For the popes had previously insisted that it was improper to make changes in the *Symbolum fidei* drawn up by the ecumenical councils of the Church and had always protested against dictation in such matters by the secular government. Though his book's principal thesis must be rejected, Sherrard deserves credit for considerable dialectical dexterity and for a number of acute observations on medieval philosophy and modern Greek literature.

Harvard University

MILTON V. ANASTOS

FUENTES DOCUMENTALES PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA INDEPENDENCIA DE AMÉRICA. Volume I, MISIÓN DE INVESTIGACIÓN EN LOS ARCHIVOS EUROPEOS. By Ricardo Donoso. [Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, Number 95.] (México, D.F.: the Instituto. 1960. Pp. xii, 301.) This is a specialist's item. Ricardo Donoso, a well-known Chilean historian, here provides the first of a short series of report-guides on materials in European archives related to the independence movements in various parts of America. With financial support from UNESCO, Donoso, Jorge Ignacio Rubio Mañé of Mexico, and Carlos Daniel Calcárcel of Peru were engaged to survey and, in some instances, to photocopy materials of historical importance concerning the origins and development of emancipation movements in the New World. In 1956 Rubio Mañé and Donoso began their mission, dividing responsibility along geographical lines: Rubio Mañé undertook to note items concerned with North America, Central America, and the Caribbean, while Donoso did the same for South America. The present report is divided into three general parts, concerned respectively with archives in Lisbon, in Spain, and in France. In each instance, so far as possible, Donoso gives a very brief description of the archive in general, plus published and unpublished finding aids, then notes specific relevant collections, and in some instances individual documents of importance within them. He indicates which items he photocopied and deposited with the Commission on History in Mexico. In Lisbon, the repositories so annotated include the Torre de Tombo, with bibliography on other collections. The bulk of the work is devoted to Spanish repositories, especially the Academia de la Historia, Museo Naval, and Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, as well as Simancas, and the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. It is difficult to evaluate the vast amount of diligent digging that Donoso has obviously done. Notes on the archives and on the collections are by no means comprehensive; any serious student will still have to traverse much of the ground here covered, so highly selective is the coverage. The photocopies must be adjudged as illustrative and would be useful chiefly to those already rather familiar with the numerous published materials. In some cases, as with the Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo in Santander, Donoso's negative report may save an investigator lost time. What appears to be a very detailed and accurate name index undoubtedly will prove of value. Even for South America there

are numerous remaining unexplored archives in Europe whose contents will illumine American movements for independence.

Library of Congress

HOWARD F. CLINE

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1919-1943: DOCUMENTS. Volume II, 1923-1928. Selected and edited by *Jane Degras*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 584. \$12.80.) This massive volume continues the valuable collection of documents on the Comintern, begun in 1956 (see review of Volume I, *AHR*, LXII [Oct. 1956], 176). Centered on the years of the "united front" and its failures (notably in England and in China), this volume leads across the bitter factional struggle of the mid-1920's to the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928, which saw the adoption of the Program, Theses, and Statutes, marked the culmination of the Bolshevization and Stalinization of the International, and launched the new, "ultra-leftist" phase. The documents here reproduced, largely from Comintern protocols and the German edition of *International Press Correspondence*, are limited to official materials such as theses, resolutions, and letters of the Comintern, mostly from its powerful Executive Committee. They do not include materials from the individual Communist parties; nor are memoirs, unofficial reports, and other relevant sources used. Even so, the size of the volume seems to have necessitated giving many documents in extracts only. This is unfortunate both from a scholarly point of view and because of the charges of distortion leveled by Soviet critics of the first volume, allegedly on grounds of political selectivity. The faithfully reproduced materials are supplied with helpful introductory and explanatory notes. Careful comparison of different editions has turned up important variants (e.g., a section on illegal party work omitted from the Moscow text of the April 1925 Theses is included in the London version). On many issues, such as the China crisis of 1926-1927, the fate of Comintern presidents Zinoviev and Bukharin, or the fights in the German Communist party, other sources are needed to round out the picture. This does not diminish the worth of the series, which remains the first systematic effort (outside the Communist world) to make available the essential sources for the history of the Third International.

Columbia University

ALEXANDER DALLIN

COMMUNISM AND THE GENERAL STRIKE. By *Wilfrid H. Crook*. (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 483. \$8.75.) According to the author, this book is the product of thirty years of research and has the threefold purpose of showing that the use of the general strike has increased markedly in the last three decades, that the general strike has sometimes been used for beneficial purposes, but that the Communists by adopting the general strike have brought it into increasing contempt. In a direct sense, this present work is an extension of the author's earlier study, *The General Strike in Theory and Practice*, which was published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1931 and which contained much of the basic material now found in this second effort. Professor Crook, who from 1947 to 1956 was chairman of the economics department at Colgate, has divided his book into four parts: the first surveys early general strikes in Britain and the United States; the second analyzes the practice of the general strike in various parts of the world; the third recounts the theory of the general strike and reviews the Communist abuse of it; the fourth contains a long series of thumbnail sketches of important general strikes for the benefit of those "who want to study the phenomenon as a whole." There is little doubt that much time and effort went into the preparation of this volume and that it offers some otherwise hard to get information about general strikes (especially in Asia, Africa, and the Near East).

The style is adequate, and the research is obviously competent. Yet there are some disturbing shortcomings. The study does not offer us anything essentially new about the general strike. The organization is extremely difficult to follow, producing jarring breaks in the narrative and confusing the reader. The theory of the general strike, for example, is discussed after a complete examination of the pertinent strikes. Indeed, the reader is often so swamped by the details of the many strikes that intelligent comprehension is virtually impossible. Crook should be applauded for his valiant attempt to undertake a broad study of the general strike, especially of its relationship with Communist theory and practice; yet I wish that the thirty years of research had paid more handsomely.

Pennsylvania State University

ROBERT K. MURRAY

RACE AND POLITICS: PARTNERSHIP IN THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND. By *Edward Clegg*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 280. \$4.80.) This informative and interesting book deals mainly with Northern Rhodesia where the author, a soils scientist, spent the years 1951-1954. He traveled widely and studied carefully the economic, political, and social problems and the soils in the vast area federated in October 1953 and known as the Central African Federation. Although disclaiming any intention of writing a history of this region, Mr. Clegg presents a clear picture of the conditions that existed before the area came under British control about seventy years ago, discusses the European impact on the natives, and analyzes the difficulties that beset the federation. Appendixes give details of governmental changes generally favorable to the Africans from 1953 to 1959. The other federations of the Commonwealth of Nations were established by units on the same political level, but this one consisted of self-governing Southern Rhodesia and the two adjoining British protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which were controlled by the British Colonial Office. Spokesmen for the large African majority in the three colonies, moreover, strongly opposed the federation sponsored by the relatively few white settlers of Southern Rhodesia and by the American and European mining interests in the "Copper Belt" of Northern Rhodesia who sought to exploit and control the Africans. With some justice, the whites claimed that they had "made the country," but the Africans could rightly state that the land was theirs. They much preferred British control to the dominance of the resident whites—capitalists, planters, and trade-unionists—who treated Africans as an inferior human species. This very worthwhile book is fair and judicious. The author recognizes that British rule freed Africans from ancient evils such as slavery, the slave trade, and barbarous rites, but he also shows that the natives have lost much of their land and many beneficent ancient customs and institutions. He sympathizes with the Africans and reveals with facts and figures that their grievances are well founded. Doubting that this federation can endure, Clegg states in conclusion: "... the White communities, hemmed ever more tightly into the toe of the continent, will one day stand and fight to defend the countries they have fashioned, to defend their way of life, the existence of a European society on the African continent."

University of Wisconsin

PAUL KNAPLUND

DOCUMENTS ON DISARMAMENT, 1945-1959. Volume I, 1945-1956; Volume II, 1957-1959. [Department of State Publication 7008.] (Washington, D. C.: Department of State. 1960. Pp. xxxviii, 730; xxxviii, 731-1644.) Scholars interested in the study of the apparently interminable disarmament negotiations under way since the end of World War II will welcome this very useful compilation of public documents. These documents, drawn from Western, Soviet, and United Nations sources, have been previously published, but are here conveniently assembled and edited. In addition, the appendix in

Volume II contains a list of the principal disarmament negotiators, a bibliography of pertinent official publications, maps delineating the proposed "open skies" inspection zones, and an index that enables the user to cope with the chronological presentation of various types of documents. The 402 items printed in these volumes include all the important developments and proposals: prohibition of nuclear warfare, reduction of conventional armaments, establishment of agencies for the peaceful use of atomic energy, opening of zones to aerial inspection, creation of an atomic-free zone, cessation of A-bomb testing, and the signing of the demilitarizing Antarctic Treaty of 1959. The documents logically fall into the chronological periods 1945-1952 and 1953-1959. In the first period, the Western position, advocating a veto-free international control system for atomic energy, was revealed in the June 1946 Baruch plan. It was promptly countered, in the same month, by the demand of Andrei Gromyko for an immediate dismantling of all atomic weapons and the prohibition of their use, followed by some type of control provisions. The ensuing deadlock was apparently dissolved in the post-Stalin era, when the Soviet government indicated general acquiescence in the Western proposals of staged and controlled general disarmament. Optimism has since faded, drowned in the endless talks and counterproposals, with the only concrete achievements being implementation of Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" proposal and the existence of an informal Anglo-American-Soviet suspension of nuclear tests. The collection ends, rather pessimistically, with Eisenhower's statement in December 1959 that the American test moratorium had expired.

University of Colorado

DANIEL M. SMITH

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1957. Selected, edited, and introduced by *Noble Frankland*. Assisted by *Vera King*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 539. \$11.20.) As is customary in this series, the latest volume excludes Africa below its Mediterranean fringe, slights the Far East, and ignores Latin America. Whatever the diplomatic historian's relations with the flag, Mr. Frankland need not begin to act like a Little Englander yet. If he protest that the neglected areas lie outside the arena of international relations, he should recall Mr. Toynbee's remark in this same series that this arena now covers the entire globe. It is more probable that Frankland would have to confess that his rather limited sources brought him nothing of interest from these areas. Darker Africa might have made it if Vice-President Nixon's African tour had been marked by a major diplomatic incident. Or his demand that the United States get in ahead of the Russians might have achieved international significance if anybody had taken it seriously at home. The theme for this 1957 volume was the cold war with only minor variations. The volume is divided into four long chapters. In the first are direct exchanges between East and West over disarmament, the Middle East, and Germany, totaling 120 pages. Most interesting was a Soviet effort to counteract the Eisenhower doctrine by proposing a joint four-power declaration on the Middle East, and in effect forming a committee of surveillance of past, present, and future overlords of the area. The subject of Chapter II is the arms race which was approaching the missile question even before the advent of *Sputnik* on October 4. The chapter on the Middle East devotes 190 pages to the Israeli withdrawal, reopening the Suez Canal, and "Arab Nationalism after Suez." Under this last rubric are documents on the Eisenhower doctrine, little Arab summit meetings on it, the United States' succeeding Great Britain as Jordan's principal source of income, and Soviet countermeasures including large-scale technical aid and credit to Syria. The final chapter, "The Counter-Alliances," deals with international relations, including internal fighting, within the Communist and Western blocs. While this volume lacks the dramatic interest of earlier

years, it should serve its obvious purpose excellently. In a book that is otherwise flawless it was very satisfying to find that here and there Khrushchev's name is spelled Khrushchov. This appears to give warrant to the common practice of pronouncing the name first one way, then the other, without much conviction. The confusion cannot apparently be blamed on the Russians.

Bennington College

THOMAS P. BROCKWAY

Ancient and Medieval

RÖMISCHE RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE. By Kurt Latte. [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Volume V, Part 4.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1960. Pp. xvi, 444, 33 plates. Cloth DM 38.50, paper DM 34.00.) Having described what according to him was the original core of Roman religion (rustic beliefs and their adaptation in the religion of the community), the author in roughly chronological order follows the evolution of Roman faith from the Italian and Greek influences to the end of paganism. An excellent classical scholar, he accumulates a wealth of exact interpretations of relevant texts which make his book indispensable for the further study of the subject. His general outlook is less suited to his subject. The Romans were interested in the gods' disposition toward them. Roman religion, as Cicero said, consisted of ceremonies and signs. But the author, with modern taste, is interested in the psychological attitudes of worshipers; his modern approach allows him to underestimate institutional religion. At the time when it was decaying, according to his view, Polybius admired its grip on the Romans. For Latte, Roman religion was no more than empty form in the third century A.D. Yet, about 230, the very old-fashioned college of Arval priests modernized its rites. The introduction of Greek gods may have answered new emotional needs, but Apollo was still a Greek three centuries after his entrance into the Roman pantheon. (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 3, 11; the passage is referred to page 222, note one, but misquoted). A whole chapter deals with the "Loyalty Religion," but the fact is never emphasized that in Rome (and only in Rome) the emperor became a god only after his death through the rites of the apotheosis. In 193 B.C. the Senate forbade the reception of further news about the earthquakes for the purpose of propitiation. For the author this decree betrays the lack of true piety. In fact it exemplifies one of the most specific features of Roman religion: the paradoxical freedom of man toward the gods whom he must appease (cf. J. Bayet, *Histoire . . . de la religion romaine* [1957], page 51 ff.).

Columbia University

E. J. BICKERMAN

"GALLIA" UND "FRANCIA" IM MITTELALTER: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER DEN ZUSAMMENHANG ZWISCHEN GEOGRAPHISCH-HISTORISCHER TERMINOLOGIE UND POLITISCHEM DENKEN VOM 6.-15. JAHRHUNDERT. By Margret Lugge. [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Number 15.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1960. Pp. 245. DM 19.50.) The purpose of this study is to test the validity of a statement of Ferdinand Lot: "Avant la France était la Gaule, ou pour mieux dire la France continue la Gaule et la Gaule préfigure la France. Faire l'histoire de la Gaule c'est faire l'histoire de la France" (*La Gaule*, page fifteen). The author makes a detailed examination of geographic and political nomenclature from the time of Caesar to that of Louis XIV. The ancient concept of Gaul divided from Germany by the Rhine was undoubtedly perpetuated by scholars and ecclesiastics throughout the Middle Ages. The term "Francia" first appeared in the second century to designate the land inhabited by Franks, but by Carolingian times it meant the entire Frankish Empire. After the Treaty of Verdun, 843, it was used with qualifying adjectives for many of the

successor states. Not until late in the twelfth century did it become identified with France. Thereupon many Germans, recollecting their own Frankish origins, revived the term "Gallia" for France. It remained for the humanists to point out and emphasize the discrepancy between Caesar's "Gaul to the Rhine" and the actual Franco-German boundary. This, the author holds, contributed significantly to the establishment of the Rhine as the goal of seventeenth-century French policy. The work is based on an impressive array of printed sources and modern books and articles. The author handles the evidence with judgment and discrimination. Unfortunately her conscientious thoroughness in threading her way through the maze of nomenclature after 843 frequently proves confusing to the reader. The inclusion of a few maps would have been helpful. Although some of her conclusions are not entirely convincing, she has at least succeeded in demonstrating that Lot's dictum as to the relation of Gaul to France is an oversimplification.

Dartmouth College

JOHN R. WILLIAMS

DIE HOFKAPELLE DER DEUTSCHEN KÖNIGE. Part 1, GRUNDLEGUNG. DIE KAROLINGISCHE HOFKAPELLE. By *Josef Fleckenstein*. [Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters), Volume XVI.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 251. DM 41.) For anyone who wishes to know anything or everything about the Carolingian royal chapel it will be necessary to read Dr. Fleckenstein's monograph, the first of a series attempting to narrate the history of the medieval German kings' royal chapel. It begins with the position of the court clergy under the Carolingian mayors, continues with the transformation of this clergy into a royal chapel under Pepin I, and treats the vicissitudes of the institution under Charlemagne and his successors, until, almost at its end, with the breakdown of the Carolingian Empire, its tradition was taken up by the new Ottonian dynasty. The author makes much of the chapel as an institution that early acquired sufficient stability to survive the catastrophes of any given reign. He also ascribes importance to it as one of the stabilizing institutions of a monarchy trying to exercise its authority while wandering from one royal manor to another. As the organ of anointed kings who were agents of God, it drew exclusively from the clergy. In this capacity its chief obligation was to maintain the proper relation between God and the crown by performing appropriately the necessary services (as the royal court moved from estate to estate) in the course of the liturgical year. Chapel could thus mean the royal chapel of the particular crown land in which these services were performed; it could mean the relics, utensils, and vestments necessary for the performance of these services; it could mean the clergy held to these services, bound to the king in personal ties, exempt from regular ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and either living at court as a permanent body accompanying the king on his rounds or serving chapels on the various royal estates the king visited. It was actually all three of these. The second chief function of the royal chapel was the preparation of all documents needed for the king's administration, the services of a chancellery. What constitutes the most interesting part of Fleckenstein's work is the evidence that the chapel was used in a still larger administrative capacity. It mediated between the king and the Church whether in negotiations with Rome or in the guidance of synods of the kingdom. It helped in the administration of royal justice at court and, under Charlemagne, in the work of the *missi*. In a special appendix the author details the extent to which chaplains were engaged as supervisors of the royal mints, as artists with varying talents, as scholars, theologians, librarians, and choirmasters, in other words, as personal agents of a king with notable ambitions as a cultural leader. Fleckenstein traces this general position of the royal chapel with all its variations from reign to reign, reflecting in a particular institution the rise and

fall of the Carolingian monarchy. He also traces zealously the internal history of the chapel as a small bureaucracy developing its own hierarchy of chaplains, archchaplains, chancellors, archchancellors, and notaries. From shifts in the lines of authority within the chapel he draws consequences for political history. He does more than this. With an intimate mastery of the sources, all individuals connected with the chapel are introduced in their proper places, their social origins are traced, and the political importance of their role in the chapel is assessed. Indeed devotion to detail of this sort is so great that it becomes a question of whether there were not more important problems such dedication might solve. In any case it is hard to imagine that, without the discovery of important new sources, the history of the Carolingian royal chapel will ever have to be done again.

Brandeis University

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

ENGLAND AND THE SALT TRADE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By *A. R. Bridbury*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. xviii, 198. \$3.40.) This is an excellent monograph. It deals with one of the most significant medieval trades in a bulky commodity and provides an admirable example of the history and organization of such trades. Although it is focused on England, the subject requires knowledge and treatment of a wide area of Northern Europe. The resulting descriptions of various competing regions and methods of production are very useful. But the chief contribution is Dr. Bridbury's identification of a shift in the sources of supply for the English market from domestic producers to the salines of the Bourgneuf Bay region of France. It seems perhaps dubious to describe this as a "commercial revolution," but it was an interesting change in the English economy with considerable effects. There are a number of appendixes criticizing the sources and giving statistical information. The book is, moreover, not without its lighter side: the calculations of the millions of herrings which were salted for medieval consumption remind one of Maitland on Anglo-Saxon ale.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

LA VIE RURALE EN SOLOGNE AUX XIV^e ET XV^e SIÈCLES. By *Isabelle Guérin*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Les hommes et la terre, Number 5.] ([Paris:] S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. 339.) Lying southeast of the Loire River and bordered on the south by the Duchy of Berry was the land of Sologne which in the Middle Ages was a part of the county of Blois. This study of rural life in Sologne, originally a *thèse* submitted to the École des Chartes in 1948, makes two contributions to our knowledge of the agrarian history of medieval France. It seems to show that, contrary to what has been written, the agrarian economy of Sologne was blighted not by the religious wars of the sixteenth century but by the ravages of the Hundred Years' War, and it provides an exhaustive account of a small segment of the French medieval terrain although the availability of the evidence limits the study to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Despite an enormous amount of descriptive detail, one puts this book down with the feeling that the results hardly justify the effort. Medievalists will not be surprised to read that the Hundred Years' War hastened the demise of the feudal aristocracy, put vast tracts of land back into waste or uncultivated condition, contributed to the emancipation of the peasant, or led to various contractual arrangements such as the *bail à rente foncière* and *métayage* that removed the lord from direct management of his lands. Regional studies such as this are indispensable for higher generalization or for the broader study but their findings must be related to the total agrarian history of medieval France. Certainly it is not unreasonable to ask for at least one chapter that would compare Sologne with other areas and relate the conclusions to the broad generalizations of such as Marc Bloch,

Henri Sée, and Roger Grand. The chapter on "Les cultures," for example, is especially rich in information on the heterogeneity of field arrangement and the pattern of cultivation, and yet with it as with other equally good chapters there is a minimum of effort to exploit the information by tying it to what other investigators have found. How valuable it would have been to place the results of some of these chapters beside those obtained by Robert Boutrouche for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Bordelais. However exact and exhaustive this book, those who come to it will have to use it as but one well-quarried stone which they must set in place if they would understand the agrarian mosaic that was medieval France.

University of California, Berkeley

BRYCE LYON

Modern

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES: AN HISTORICAL ESSAY AND A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *William F. Kahl*. [Kress Library of Business and Economics, Publication Number 15.] (Boston: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. 1960. Pp. viii, 104.) Only in England, where nothing ancient is allowed to die if it can decently be kept alive, could some eighty medieval craft guilds have survived into the second half of the twentieth century. The London Livery Companies are no longer craft guilds, most of them ceased to be that in Stuart times, but as charitable fraternal organizations and as associations of the more distinguished of the London business community they are enjoying a healthy old age even in the uncongenial climate of the modern welfare state. They are something more than picturesque antiquarian survivals. For centuries much of the entrepreneurial life of England's capital city has revolved around them and is reflected in their history and their records. Unfortunately, very little serious historical work has been done on them. Professor Kahl's select bibliography and the clear and concise historical essay preceding it will surely encourage historians interested in the political, social, and economic life of London to take advantage of the materials for which he furnishes so useful a guide. About the bibliography itself three features are worth noting. The items are listed in reverse chronological order (the more recent works first); the general classification "Livery Companies" follows instead of introducing the material on the individual companies listed alphabetically; and for pamphlets and other material in the British Museum the press mark is indicated. This last is very welcome, as is the whole work.

College of Wooster

ROBERT WALCOTT

THE STATIONERS' COMPANY: A HISTORY, 1403-1959. By *Cyprian Blagden*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. 321. \$8.00.) This is a remarkable biography of an institution, one of the eighty-two guilds or Livery Companies of the city of London. Against the background of economic and technical change of nearly six centuries, Mr. Blagden has written the first full history of the Stationers' Company from its precharter days to the loss of its economic power and its retirement from the book trade. Guided by the limitations of his sources, principally the company's manuscripts, and by articles already published, the author has concentrated on the period 1557 to 1810. Blagden makes two especially important contributions. He describes the increasing control over the trade of the English Stock, a trading organization in which members of the company could become stockholders. Secondly, the Stationers provide the author with the opportunity to make an excellent case study in a much-neglected aspect of

business history, the influence of businessmen upon government to promote policies advantageous to trade. Blagden, however, distinguishes unnecessarily between the normal guild activities of the Stationers' Company (regulation of apprenticeship, maintenance of quality, settlement of disputes, relief of distress, etc.) and allegedly unique characteristics such as the English Stock and copyright. As he suggests, the conduct of a trading organization by a limited number of members of the company was in the same restrictive spirit as its charter and bylaws. The Stock made possible the creation of a printing empire in the hands of a few London entrepreneur booksellers and printers. These practices, however, were similar to the monopolistic goals traditionally held by all guilds. The registration of books at the company's hall, the origin of copyright, establishing government approval and a printer's sole right to a title, was but another example of guild exclusiveness.

Simmons College

WILLIAM F. KAHL

PRINTING IN LONDON FROM 1476 TO MODERN TIMES: COMPETITIVE PRACTICE AND TECHNICAL INVENTION IN THE TRADE OF BOOK AND BIBLE PRINTING, PERIODICAL PRODUCTION, JOBBING, &c. By P. M. Handover. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. 224. \$4.75.) This fully illustrated book has interest and significance well beyond the limits of its title since the story of printing in London is essentially that of all England and her colonies for nearly two centuries after Caxton. The pattern of rise and decline through periods of monopoly and "bondage," introduction of new machinery, migration to low cost centers, and the development of craft unions have many parallels in American printing history. Early London printers, heirs to the ready-made tradition of the handwritten book, were organized within the Stationers' Company and acted also as booksellers and publishers. The company's royal charter was granted to curb sedition and heresy, and its powers of search and seizure enabled members to control competition. This control reduced the number of London printers from twenty-two in 1586 to twenty in 1695, and of these only those printers who were officers of the company might have as many as three presses. Materials were often shoddy, and craft standards careless. Lapse of the royal license in 1695 and passage of the Copyright Act in 1709 inaugurated a new era. Booksellers had the books printed, and sometimes printers became hirelings at starvation rates. Many turned to printing periodicals. The periodicals lacked a ready-made tradition, and their development was slow. From the first dated news sheet in 1513 until a century after the first daily in 1702, there were no significant technical improvements, nor was there a literate market for large-scale production. Newspapers were published in small editions, usually subsidized by one or another political faction. John Walter II of the *Times* was the first to use steam power in the press room in 1814 when the Napoleonic Wars had intensified interest in news and more people had learned to read. While few could afford its price of seven pence, the *Times* earned enough from increased circulation and advertising to forego subsidies and to develop its unique staff of correspondents. In 1816 William Cobbett's *Political Register*, at two pence, gained a circulation of forty thousand within a few weeks. *The Penny Magazine*, started in 1826, eventually circulated more than 400,000 copies. Miss Handover's account of the subsequent development of machine-made paper, stereotyping, lithography, rotary presses, photoengraving, and mechanical composition of type charts the course that has led to today's seven-pound newspapers and magazines of multimillion circulations.

New York City

WILLIS W. TOMPKINS

THE TUDOR CONSTITUTION: DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY. Edited and introduced by G. R. Elton. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. Pp. xvi,

496. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$4.95.) Teachers of English history will be very grateful for this useful book. Tanner's valuable and much-used *Tudor Constitutional Documents* appeared as long ago as 1922 (with a second edition in 1930). It was time that a new volume containing the results of more recent scholarship should appear. Mr. Elton has sensibly preferred not to revise Tanner, but to bring out a new volume under his own editorship. It is appreciably shorter (496 pages as against 626). Of the 216 documents printed in full or part, 127 are included in Tanner (although not always in the same form). In short, although Elton covers the same ground as his predecessor, there are significant differences in the selection of material. More important, he has arranged his documents on somewhat different principles. Tanner's conceptions of the field of Tudor history represented the more formal and legalistic views of his and preceding generations. Elton reflects recent historians' greater concern with the informal structure of power and also their recognition that a rigidly formal constitutional analysis of sixteenth-century government is more likely to mislead than to illuminate. It is characteristic that Elton's first section is devoted to the crown in its various aspects. This is a heading missing in Tanner's table of contents; teachers and students will be grateful for this much more logical and convenient arrangement of an important body of material. They will also find the sorting out of political issues from religious ones in the sections on the church very sensible. Such matters as royal supremacy and the secularization of church lands are now disentangled from the related but separate topics of doctrinal and liturgical revolution. In the necessary compression into a shorter book the topic that has suffered most is local government, to which about half as many pages are devoted as in Tanner. Elton properly observes that any collection of documents for this period will be but a bucketful drawn from a well. But the differences in selection do mean that although Elton's book is better organized for contemporary teaching purposes, Tanner will continue to be useful for students. The introductions in Elton's volume are necessarily briefer than in Tanner's but they are crisply and informatively written with very full and satisfactory footnote references. Like Tanner's, this work contains a selective but very useful list of books mentioned in the main body of the text.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

THE LAST TUDOR KING: A STUDY OF EDWARD VI [OCTOBER 12th, 1537-JULY 6th, 1553]. By *Hester W. Chapman*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. 304. \$4.95.) Mrs. Chapman's formula for writing historical biography, which is sure to maintain a high level of production as well as a large reading public, appears to be: choose as the subject one of the lesser but by no means obscure historical personages, such as Edward VI, Mary II, or the second Duke of Buckingham; read the standard secondary accounts; consult the most accessible printed sources (there is never a reference in the footnotes to a manuscript source); present the subject in the most interesting way possible; and finally, give the work an eye-catching title. Of course other historical biographers have used the same formula, sometimes with lamentable results. In Mrs. Chapman's case, the formula works quite well. She is generally a reliable historian with an adequate knowledge of the middle years of the sixteenth century. There are in the work occasional factual misstatements and some wrong references, but none of these is serious enough to be pointed out here. These shortcomings, moreover, are offset by a gracious literary style and an immense enthusiasm for the subject. Mrs. Chapman writes exceptionally well. She has at her disposal some very rich sources, which she uses to maximum advantage. Parts of the book read like a novel, with the conversation and movements of the "characters" reported exactly. This tendency to dramatize may dismay some historians, but the result is a highly interesting work. Mrs. Chapman's chief objective in writing this biography is "to correct three major misconceptions about Ed-

ward VI: 1, that he was a negligible bore; 2, that he was sickly all his life; 3, that he was odiously cold-hearted." These points are effectively disputed, and Edward emerges, again to use Mrs. Chapman's words, as "an intelligent, vigorous, high-spirited boy. . . ." This altered picture of Edward VI is the major contribution of *The Last Tudor King*. In regard to the great political, economic, and religious problems that faced the youthful monarch, Mrs. Chapman has less to relate than previous historians, and she relates it with much less insight and understanding.

Temple University

ROBERT C. JOHNSON

THREE ASPECTS OF STUART ENGLAND. By *Sir George Clark*. [The Whidden Lectures, Series V.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. vii, 77. \$1.40.) Sir George Clark here treats with his customary perceptivity an extraordinarily large number of seventeenth-century historical topics. Dealing in his three lectures with the themes "Insularity," "Social Structure," and "Freedom," he provides the general reader with a compact body of historical knowledge and the scholar in the period with a filip to his researches. Capable of freshly presenting well-established historical data, cognizant of the best in new historical insights and approaches, Sir George discriminately points to further possibilities for extending our understanding of the seventeenth century. His learning and wisdom are here manifest in a most attractive guise.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

THE PORTERS OF LONDON. By *Walter M. Stern*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1960. Pp. xvi, 346. \$9.00.) Mr. Stern has written what is undoubtedly the definitive study of London porters' organizations from the seventeenth to the late nineteenth century. The porters, upon whose backs and muscles depended the transport of goods in the port and city of London, were organized into four principal groups or fellowships. Although the fellowships were not exactly trade-unions, inasmuch as they were created and regulated by the City Corporation, they exercised some of the powers associated with trade-unions. Indeed it appears that the equivalents of the closed shop, checkoff system, workmen's compensation (there were frequent injuries and accidents), and welfare fund were characteristic features of fellowship organization. In the early period, according to Stern, the porters benefited from the monopoly of the provision of services held by the city of London. The City Council attempted to regularize portage (insuring a regular supply of labor by protecting the porters from scab competition and the effects of trade fluctuations) by conferring monopoly privileges on the fellowships. Such privileges, however, were gradually undermined from without and within. The employers, then as now, were stanchly attached to right-to-work principles, which meant the right to hire and fire at will. The porters often could not agree on the terms and conditions of employment that were established by the Council. The result, especially in the nineteenth century, was a confusion of regulations and working conditions, hardship and bitterness among the porters, some corruption, and, finally, the demise of the fellowships. But while it lasted, the system was infinitely superior to the one that developed in most American cities. London has never known anything corresponding to the International Longshoremen's Association or the Teamsters' Union. The porters occasionally drank and fought, but they would have marveled at what transpires on the New York City docks or at the freight warehouses in Hoboken. Stern's history is essentially a civilized one, and while comparative studies in this area are lacking, it may be doubted that a book devoted to the porters of New York would be impressive in or for the same quality.

Stanford University

ARNOLD A. ROGOW

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION. By *Gordon Donaldson*. [Based on the Birkbeck Lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge in 1957-8.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. 242. \$5.50.) As the year 1960 marks the four hundredth anniversary of the Scottish Reformation, the publication of a work dealing with that event is very appropriate. This contribution is particularly welcome, as the author, Reader in Scottish History and Paleography at Edinburgh University, has already made for himself something of a reputation among Scottish historians. Some, however, may regard the title of the work as misleading since Donaldson has not attempted to present a general history of the Reformation movement, but has concentrated upon the constitutional development of the church after 1560. His purpose seems to have been twofold. In the first place he desired to stress the direct line of continuity between the old and the new order, and secondly he wished to prove that the original Protestant reformers, including John Knox, favored conformity with the English ecclesiastical establishment, and, in particular, episcopal government. On this basis he then points out that bishop-in-presbytery might be a proper Scottish ecclesiastical organization today. A short review does not provide sufficient room for a detailed criticism of this work, for there are many debatable points. I feel that wherever possible the author has set forth an episcopalian interpretation of the facts while at times ignoring or paying but scant attention to countervailing evidence. Thus while he has much in his favor, he fails at times to see that his conclusions do not possess that clear-cut character which he suggests. Above all else I feel that he has failed to explain why Andrew Melville, after 1572, succeeded in introducing presbyterianism into what Donaldson claims to have been the solidly episcopalian Scottish church. In a sense this is a tract for the times, since it is obviously linked to the present discussions on church union in Great Britain. But its primary importance is historical, in that its careful marshaling of evidence will undoubtedly force a reappraisal of certain generally accepted views of the Reformation and will thus provide stimulus for much argument, at least in Scotland, for some time to come.

McGill University

W. STANFORD REID

THE SIXTEEN PEERS OF SCOTLAND: AN ACCOUNT OF THE ELECTIONS OF THE REPRESENTATIVE PEERS OF SCOTLAND, 1707-1959. By *Sir James Fergusson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. 175. \$4.80.) For more than 250 years the peers of Scotland, who do not sit by hereditary right in the British House of Lords, have assembled at each general election to choose sixteen of their number for membership in that body. Their authorization for this procedure is contained in Articles XXII and XXIII of the Treaty of Union of 1707 which created the Kingdom of Great Britain and which, as a result, belies the ancient cliché that there is no written British constitution. With the passage of time, extinctions and forfeitures have reduced the original number of titles on the roll of the Scottish peerage from 154 to 115, held by seventy-six persons, not a surprisingly large reduction when one realizes that there have been no new creations since 1707. If it was the original intention of the creators of the union to extinguish the ancient peerage of the northern kingdom by death and absorption, that hope, if not frustrated, is certainly long deferred. In this clearly written, thoughtful treatise the Keeper of the Records of Scotland describes the changing fortunes both of the peerage and its electoral procedures. Until the decline of the House of Lords the choosing of Scottish peers was a matter of some importance that commanded much popular attention and led, particularly in the eighteenth century, to no small amount of political maneuvering. More recently, like the peerage itself, the election has become an honorific institution kept alive by the tenacity of tradition and a continuing sense of Scottish distinctiveness. As Sir James Fergusson points out, nonetheless, it is the vestige of a most remarkable and successful experiment in nation building

which has worked far better than may have been hoped at its inception. In that sense the author has given us a careful scholarly study of an institutionalized procedure of more than parochial significance. It should long remain the standard work on the subject.

Barnard College

SIDNEY A. BURRELL

THE CHURCH AND SCOTTISH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1780-1870. By *Stewart Mechie*. [The Cunningham Lectures given in Edinburgh, 1957.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 181. \$3.40.) In his introduction Dr. Mechie calls his volume "a pioneer effort" to analyze the church's role in modern Scotland's social development. After two prefatory chapters on the Scottish Industrial Revolution and its social results, he discusses the activities of many prominent social reformers, all church leaders strongly motivated by religious considerations. In general, Scottish social reformers preferred voluntary association under church auspices to solve social problems, rather than parliamentary intervention. As a Malthusian, Thomas Chalmers vigorously opposed state aid to the poor. John Dunlop advocated heavier license fees and restrictions upon liquor sales in his temperance crusade, but voluntary pledges of temperance or abstinence were more important. James Begg urged the removal of legal obstacles to improved housing conditions, but believed that workingmen's cooperative building societies could largely solve the problem. The author's description of the almost unbelievable degradation of the lower classes through drink and crowded slums furnishes ample evidence of the drastic need for social reform. In his concluding chapter Mechie states: "... one is bound to confess that social concern was neither so intense nor so widespread among Scotch churchmen as could be wished." This admission raises questions about the importance of his work, for the contrast with the influence of the English Christian Socialists or Lord Shaftesbury is all too obvious. The reason for the difference between Scotland and England seems clear enough. The "Disruption" or secession of the Free Churches in 1843 so dominated most churchmen's thoughts that current social problems appeared less important. American readers will be disturbed by Mechie's failure to explain such terms as "heritors," the "farm kitchen system," and "the Non-Intrusion controversy." It seems a pity that the Oxford University Press feels it necessary or desirable to put the footnotes at the end of the volume.

Dartmouth College

JOHN G. GAZLEY

THE GAZETTEER, 1735-1797: A STUDY IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH NEWSPAPER. By *Robert L. Haig*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 335. \$8.50.) This book is a useful compendium of antiquarian information concerning the printing, publication, and management of a sequential series of daily newspapers that appeared between 1735 and 1797, connected chiefly by the fact that they bore the same name. Because the author makes no attempt to correlate the information he has gathered with public events in the two generations with which he deals, his book is not very enlightening on the changing functions of the newspaper press during that time. For two short intervals the paper with which he is concerned played a noteworthy part which is of interest to historians. There is casual reference to one of these intervals, when the paper was founded to serve as the organ of Walpole's party in the last years of his ministry. As a measure of economy, the several papers that Walpole encouraged were brought under a single management. Again, in the years of George Grenville's ministry and those immediately following, the paper played an important role, a fact that escapes the author, since his primary interest is in the paper itself and not in the public purposes it served. A chapter is devoted to the events that led to the regular publication of the proceedings of Parliament in the press, but there

is little awareness of the influence of this publication on the subsequent functions of newspapers.

Duke University

W. T. LAPRADE

OXFORDSHIRE CLERGY, 1777-1869: A STUDY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AND OF THE ROLE OF ITS CLERGY IN LOCAL SOCIETY. By *Diana McClatchey*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 252. \$7.20.) If anyone picks up this book with the expectation of discovering Fielding's Parson Adams or Woodforde's country parson he will be disappointed. What he will find in sum is a matter-of-fact and informing account of ecclesiastical structure and clerical political and social activities. The several chapters on structure deal with patronage of every sort, poor livings, parsonages, nonresidents, pluralism, and curates. Poor livings (those under fifty pounds) amounted to nearly half the total, and the circumstances of the priest were worsened by attacks on pluralism and nonresidence. On the other hand, pluralism, which might save the poor curate from starvation, provided some of its beneficiaries with enormous income. Parsonages were often nonexistent or at best inadequate, though one rector built a house so large as to incur heavy debt; because of it he was constantly harassed by his creditors. Consequently one Sunday morning after he had announced his text, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," he disappeared into the vestry and was seen no more. Few indeed took so extreme a course, for in addition to being a member of the state establishment the priest was also a citizen. His social character, moreover, changed during the period covered here as Oxford became more and more the resort of gentlemen. His land and his varied responsibilities and activities alike gave him status. He was the custodian of charities, the fount of learning, and the justice of the peace; he was sometimes the only voter in his constituency. Although many priests neglected their duties and some never fought the side on which their bread was buttered, many others served with intelligence and devotion. These latter, however, could not overcome what Coleridge thought the fatal error of the English Reformation, that of clinging to court and state instead of cultivating the people. The people repaid such neglect with anticlericalism. Equally disastrous, the church lost men who might have given it spiritual pre-eminence to match its material status.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION, 1780-1870. By *Brian Simon*. (London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1960. Pp. 375. 37s.6d.) Whatever one's final judgment of this study, it avoids the defects that make the average history of education a singularly dull and arid exercise. Mr. Simon is less concerned with the development of institutions and techniques than with establishing connections between the ideas of educational reformers and the social antagonisms of the age. What he has done, in a word, is to describe the growth of English education in terms of class conflict, and he has written a stimulating, perceptive book, though, like most Marxian histories, it is more interesting in its questions than in its conclusions. In essence Simon argues that the broad and humane ideas advanced by middle-class reformers in the late eighteenth century, the men of the Lunar Society and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, for example, were reinterpreted in the early nineteenth century to serve the needs of the class that was attempting to re-create English society in its own image. The legitimate heir of the eighteenth-century reformer was rather the post-1832 working class, and, indeed, two of Simon's most illuminating chapters concern educational aspects of the working-class movement. By the 1850's, he insists, a national system of education was an integral part of the working-class political program. But the ruling groups, as represented by the three educational commissions of the 1860's, consciously

attempted to build existing class relationships into the country's educational structure. What upset such calculations was the conquest of political power by the workers. After 1867 a national system of elementary education became, as even upper- and middle-class politicians realized, a political necessity. This kind of summary, of course, does meager justice to a rich and rewarding volume, whether or not one grants Simon his special postulates. Among its incidental excellences is a set of admirably selected illustrations, such as, for example, a school interior in the 1830's that unforgettably conveys the grisly reality of monitorial instruction. But in spite of the undeniable merits of his study, Simon's interpretation will not be entirely convincing to readers uncommitted to his historical philosophy. Admittedly the education debate seems to invite analysis as a class conflict, for nineteenth-century Englishmen accepted schooling as a function of status. The three great commissions of the 1860's were consciously set up to deal respectively with upper-class (Clarendon), middle-class (Taunton), and popular (Newcastle) education. Yet one can still doubt whether this was all arranged in order that "privilege could for ever withstand the pressure of the working masses." For all Simon's sophistication, his notion of classes is so rigid and uncomplicated that he sometimes seems to be merely manipulating the symbols of Marxian mythology.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

BROWNE CORRESPONDENCE. Edited by *Krishna Dayal Bhargava*. [Indian Records Series.] (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, for the National Archives of India. 1960. Pp. xi, xii, 363. Rs. 15.00 or 23s.6d.) Major James Browne was the personal agent of Warren Hastings in the court of the Mogul Emperor Shah Alam II at Delhi from 1782 to 1785. Though the story of his mission is generally well known, students will welcome the full text of Browne's letters now published for the first time. The volume consists of records in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, and in the Commonwealth Relations Office, London; it also includes Browne's letters to Macpherson (who took over from Hastings in February 1785) which have been culled from the Secret Department Records of the National Archives. Altogether there are 147 letters addressed to Hastings and sent in copy to the directors of the East India Company by Browne at their request to defend himself against the suspicion that he had been influenced by Shah Alam or Sindia. An appendix contains Browne's Memorandum on the State of Affairs in Hindustan at the beginning of 1785. The letters have been carefully edited by K. D. Bhargava whose brief introduction explains the historical background and the main drift of the letters. At the time Browne was sent to Shah Alam's court as the personal representative of the Governor-General, that court had become the scene of a struggle for power between a number of warring elements. Shah Alam was still important in Indian politics not because of any ability or power of his own, but because he wore the imperial crown. This symbol of sovereignty still had a magic power all over the country, and the company had to pretend to function under its authority for many years after Hastings' governor-generalship. Possession of the Emperor and of his capital, Delhi, a city of strategic and historical importance, was the objective of the rival factions in the court. These factions were the Marathas, the Rohillas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Jats, the Vazirs of Oudh, and powerful noblemen of the court. Intrigues and murders were the order of the day. With all his shrewdness, it took Hastings some time to realize the bearings of the situation. At first he regarded Shah Alam contemptuously as a mock king, "an idol of our own creation." It was only toward the end of his rule that he wrote: "Fallen as the House of Timur is, it is yet the relic of the most illustrious line of the Eastern world; its sovereignty is universally acknowledged, though the substance of it no longer exists, and the Company itself derives its constitutional dominions from its ostensible bounty." It was only then that he sought to secure for the

company a decisive role in Delhi affairs, which he had been watching till then with only a remote interest. The notes at the end of the volume, which often draw on two contemporary Persian manuscripts, are generally precise and to the point. There are three illustrations and a map of northern India—Delhi, Agra, Oudh, and part of Bihar—drawn in 1775. The bibliography and the index are adequate.

Madras, India

K. A. N. SASTRI

GOD SPEED THE PLOW: THE COMING OF STEAM CULTIVATION TO ENGLAND. By *Clark C. Spence*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1960. Pp. 183. \$4.75.) Americans like to brag about their inventiveness and technological finesse, yet they have been slow to record all phases of the machine age. Clark Spence fortunately remedied one lapse of memory by following the farmers' steam traction plowing engines back to their origins in England. The work tells of men's efforts to harness the iron horse for plowing and cultivating the soil, an achievement that the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* in 1878 deemed second in importance to the invention of the reaper. The well-organized narrative moves from the period of speculation about the use of steam power for plowing (1800–1832), to the building of the first crude models (1832–1850), and to the successful use of steam engines for plowing purposes from 1850 to the advent of World War I. Manufacturers progressed, meanwhile, from the traction system to the rotary method and finally to the cable plowing technique. In this "smoke across the furrows" account, the emphasis falls upon the construction of numerous plowing leviathans and the various systems employed in transmitting the power from the engine to the tillage equipment. Sixty-four timely reproductions illustrate the mechanical progress made with steam cultivation during the nineteenth century. Technical information is presented with conciseness and clarity. Although Spence exhausted the periodical literature on the subject, his failure to make extensive use of business records and personal reminiscences eliminates much potential human interest from the volume. Both author and reader are too remote from the scene of action. In this sense, history does not rise up on its hind legs and march by in all its majestic grandeur.

Mills College

REYNOLD M. WIK

JOHN MILL'S BOYHOOD VISIT TO FRANCE: BEING A JOURNAL AND NOTEBOOK WRITTEN BY JOHN STUART MILL IN FRANCE, 1820–21. Edited, with an introduction by *Anna Jean Mill*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1960. Pp. xxxi, 133. \$5.00.) Never before has the journal of a fourteen-year-old boy been edited and published with such meticulous care, but there has never been a boy quite like John Stuart Mill. In 1820 James Mill sent his eldest son to France to stay with his friend Sir Samuel Bentham. Young John had already been made aware of his special qualities and inured to the system of educational forcing devised by his father. He dutifully kept a journal that accounted both for his studies and his experiences and sent it home in sections. This journal is now published in full for the first time, together with a notebook containing the story of John's residence in France and various supplementary records. There is a subdued charm to these materials, a boyish humanity which had somehow survived an inhuman system of education and which the editor obviously cherishes. The historian will find nothing significantly new about either Mill or France, but will enjoy this innocent record of a precocious mind.

Mills College

FRANCIS H. HERRICK

THE YOUNG DISRAELI. By *B. R. Jerman*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 327. \$6.00.) In 1882, a year after Disraeli's death, Sir Philip Rose found among the papers of his late "Chief" correspondence between Disraeli and two

women, Henrietta, Lady Sykes and Mrs. Clara Bolton, both of whom had evidently been Disraeli's mistresses between 1833 and 1836. Shocked by this discovery, Rose handed the letters over to Lord Rowton, Disraeli's private secretary, urging him to destroy them. Professor Jerman recently found this correspondence at Hughenden, together with the "mutilated diary" to which Monypenny, in the official *Life of Disraeli* (1910), alluded. He also discovered at Hughenden the letters that Disraeli's early friends, Benjamin and Sara Austen, had written him. These supplement Disraeli's own letters to the Austens which are in the British Museum, some of which Monypenny used, though in abbreviated form. Obviously the chief interest of this new and fascinating material is the illumination of the personality of Disraeli. Monypenny, while omitting all allusion to Mrs. Bolton, made a perfunctory reference to a "certain Lady Sykes." He suppressed the fact that the latter was the "Henrietta" of the "mutilated diary," though he acknowledged that the "Henrietta" of the diary was the model for the heroine of Disraeli's romance, *Henrietta Temple*. Lady Sykes was at the same time the mistress of Lord Lyndhurst, influential Tory and former Lord Chancellor, with whom she used her influence to promote Disraeli's political career and to get him into Parliament. Forty years later, Rose believed that this scandal had influenced Peel in his decision to omit Disraeli from his government in 1841. What is curious about the affair is the complaisance of the lady's husband and the recklessness of Disraeli. It is also extraordinary that when, a generation later, the latter became Prime Minister, memories of the old scandal were not exhumed to discredit him. Gladstone was scarcely as fortunate in preserving his (blameless) private life from innuendo and attack. The new Austen correspondence reveals the young Disraeli as insincere in friendship, sponging shamelessly upon his friends, and anxious to drop them when they could no longer be of use to him. One regrets that this absorbing material was not used to recast more completely the accepted portrait of the young Disraeli.

University of Washington

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

FREE JAMAICA, 1838-1865: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Douglas Hall*. [Caribbean Series, Number 1.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 290. \$5.00.) The British Caribbean slave regime and the apprenticeship system there have both held powerful appeal for research students in economics, sociology, and colonial history, and a substantial body of writings on them from varied angles has appeared during the past generation. Conversely, the freedom period has been almost entirely neglected, probably because it lacks the drama characterizing the others, and our knowledge respecting the emergence of a new economic structure and a new society has been limited. Actually the reconstruction era fully matches the others in interest and significance and is finally attracting scholarly attention in recent years. *Free Jamaica* is a substantial monograph by an English-trained West India-born historian. It is conspicuously successful in portraying the development of a radically altered way of life in a major British possession and might well be followed by several more that bear on Britain's other tropical American possessions. Based largely upon Colonial Office papers, the West India Committee's archives, and its magnificent library, Hall's impressive volume deals with such diverse subjects as the introduction of laborsaving techniques in sugar production, the decline in the number of sugar estates from 646 in 1834 to 330 in 1854, the transfer of properties from absentees to resident owners, varied attempts to diversify the insular economy, the emergence of a substantial number of small freeholds, and the rapid rise of inland villages. It is interesting to note that freedom ended apprenticeship training in the crafts with a resultant acute shortage of skilled labor. The new order had stabilized with a fair degree of prosperity when, suddenly, in the 1860's, high prices on imports from war-torn America coupled with flood, drought, and plant

disease brought on acute depression resulting in civil strife in 1865 and the abrogation of Jamaica's constitution. The stark tragedy is admirably narrated here.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

ENGLAND AND AFGHANISTAN: A PHASE IN THEIR RELATIONS. By *Dilip Kumar Ghose*. (Calcutta: World Press Private Ltd. 1960. Pp. x, 230. Rs. 15.) The major thesis of this monograph on British policy toward Afghanistan from 1849 to 1887 (submitted as a doctoral dissertation at Calcutta University in 1958) is that in the 1870's and 1880's "there was a fundamental unity in British Foreign Policy in Central Asia in spite of the oft-repeated complaints of politicians and laymen alike that the quarrel between the Liberal and the Conservative at Westminster determined the fate of the Afghans in Kabul, Kandahar and Herat." Dr. Ghose argues that a policy of protecting India from possible Russian aggression by establishing indirect but effective control over a clearly delimited state in Afghanistan gradually became dominant within the Indian government, tended to be generally accepted in England by Liberal as well as Conservative cabinets, and was put into practice with considerable, though by no means perfect, consistency despite varied changes of party and personnel both in London and Calcutta. The study deals in great detail with three principal topics: the early debate between the adherents of the Stationary and the Forward Schools; the complicated events surrounding the Second Afghan War; and the establishment of the northern frontier of Afghanistan by Anglo-Russian negotiations between 1869 and 1887. In examining these topics, Ghose has made his chief contribution to historical scholarship by extensive and judicious use of unpublished documents in the Indian National Archives at New Delhi, especially the records of the Foreign Department of the British Indian Government. He has made no startling discoveries, and his narrative does not differ significantly from that of other recent scholars. His account of the events with which he deals, however, is the fullest and best documented we have. It should prove of interest and value to students of English politics in the Disraeli-Gladstone era, of Anglo-Russian relations in Central Asia, and of Indian and Afghan history.

University of Florida

PAUL L. HANNA

BORRIOBOOLA-GHA: THE STORY OF LOKOJA, THE FIRST BRITISH SETTLEMENT IN NIGERIA. By *Howard J. Pedraza*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 118. \$2.90.) Nigeria became an independent nation in 1960, only a century after the founding of the seedling settlement of Lokoja at the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers. Lokoja itself is not important, but it is significant as a symbol of the opening and rise not only of Nigeria but all West Africa. Here is an intensive study of British imperialism in miniature that is instructive and interesting. Lokojan development is described with respect to commerce and philanthropy as motivating factors, the fascinating role of Dr. William Balfour Baikie as explorer and colonist, the growth of trade, the rise of imperial interest, and twentieth-century developments. The tenacity and devotion of the intrepid Britishers who nursed the fledgling settlement through its early years were remarkable. In view of the ravages of malaria, it was tragic that these men had so little knowledge of quinine. The derisive reference of Dickens to Lokoja as Borrioboola-Gha provides the peculiar title of this book. Mr. Pedraza's residence in Nigeria and service as a district officer near Lokoja lend authority and realism to his account. The book is well organized and sufficiently documented and illustrated; the bibliography is adequate. It is an objective and straightforward presentation that will be helpful to the specialist and interesting to the general reader.

University of Cincinnati

GARLAND G. PARKER

BRITISH INTERVENTION IN MALAYA, 1867-1877. By C. Northcote Parkinson. (Singapore: University of Malaya Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xx, 384. \$7.20.) C. Northcote Parkinson has gained so much fame lately as an author and lecturer on bureaucracy and political theory that one is apt to forget that he has claims to being a historian. Some of his critics—they are found mostly in Britain and Malaya—might question whether the sometime Raffles Professor of History at the University of Malaya has any valid claims to being a historian. This volume should refresh peoples' memories and quiet the critics. The book is the first of a projected multivolumed chronological and topical history of Malaya which seeks primarily to provide future scholars with encyclopedic background information. This objective does not preclude Parkinson from being free with his observations and conclusions. The period covered embraces the terms of office of the first three governors of the Straits Settlements after their transfer to the Colonial Office from the India Office. The first man was tactless and an unpopular disciplinarian. The second possessed largeness of vision and neglected details. The third's limited horizons led him to prevarication and forgery. All three were powerfully influenced by the British and Chinese merchant community which no one should be surprised to learn was parochial and extremely self-seeking. Ultimately the businessmen got their way, and British rule was extended to the neighboring Malay monarchies. In spite of a claim or two to the contrary, Parkinson's volume does not alter the main outline of events or the motives behind them. He covers much the same ground as earlier authors. Only he does it much better and in rich, monographic detail. His treatment is essentially political and British oriented. He takes little real interest in the Malay or Chinese side of events and makes no reference to J. M. Gullick's pioneer work, *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya* (1958), which seeks to fathom the causes of Malay political difficulties. Parkinson has drawn on original source materials, some of which have not been published previously, and on the researches of a number of former students who are extremely able. He combines both with his lively style into a first-rate volume. Parkinson's students and members of the history faculty at the University of Malaya have the responsibility of carrying on the series. The project is a worthy one and is to be commended.

Northern Illinois University

J. NORMAN PARMER

THE JEWISH IMMIGRANT IN ENGLAND, 1870-1914. By Lloyd P. Gartner. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1960. Pp. 320. \$5.00.) In spite of Dr. Gartner's modest claim that this study is a "pioneer attempt," it is a full account of waves of unorganized migration from Russia, Poland, and Rumania, the several stages of settlement in England, and the migrants' adjustment to English life. Oppression, grinding poverty, and the tacit connivance of Imperial Russia were motivating factors which far outweighed the efforts of the more hopeful Jewish "notables" in Eastern Europe and the hostility of native English Jews to discourage the exodus of millions to England. The Anglo-Jewish community, fearing that the new settlers would prejudice their position in English life, at first operated on the assumption that the "Immigrants could be best dealt with by being sent forward to America, . . . or back to Eastern Europe. . . ." It was not until after 1900 that the native Jewry gradually realized that no policy of theirs could halt the flood and abandoned "the unclear middle course" of neither welcoming nor repelling the immigrants. But, as the Jewish Board of Guardians undertook the task of relief and assimilation, the docile "greener's" willingness to work long hours for low pay, perpetuation of the hated sweating system, and unabashed drive to get ahead provoked hostility from the English trade-unionists. The emergence of a Jewish socialist and trade-union movement, however, mitigated

this rancor and created an atmosphere of cooperation. What happened to the immigrant in England is explored in highly preceptive analyses of his "self-contained milieu," his struggle to preserve the social standards and communal life of Eastern Europe, his religion and education in the new environment, and the wide varieties of his cultural expression. All of this and more are summed up in a concluding chapter which assesses the role of Jewish immigration in modern English and Jewish history. Indeed, the scope of the author's research and the insight that he brings to a complex subject make this book a highly significant contribution to the history of an era.

Mississippi State University

JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. First Series, Volume IX, GERMAN AFFAIRS, 1920. Edited by *Rohan Butler* and *J. P. T. Bury*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1960. Pp. lxvi, 743. \$12.95 postpaid.) This installment of the official edition of documents from the British Foreign Office covers the period "after the resumption of diplomatic relations from the entry into force of the Treaty of Versailles on January 10, 1920 to the opening of the Conference of Spa . . . on July 5." The first six sections follow the mainstream of Allied-German relations before and after the Kapp *Putsch* which occurred in March. The last two chapters deal with the problems of the fugitive Kaiser and of German nationals accused of war crimes. The first of these covers efforts to obtain their surrender to Allied authority, and the second presents the British attitude toward preparations by the German government for the trial of the accused nationals by the Supreme Court at Leipzig. Perhaps the most interesting document in the collection is a letter of February 10 from Lord Kilmaunock, chargé d'affaires in Berlin, to Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary. A month before the Kapp *Putsch* the alert observer in Germany anticipated the resurgence of German conservatism and aggressiveness. But in words reminiscent of the dispatches of Castlereagh and Wellington a century earlier, he recommended that Britain take the calculated risk of avoiding a Carthaginian settlement: "The nation can be reduced to a state of starvation and despair which will render . . . a future German menace out of the question. But the price of this achievement cannot be overlooked. If Germany is economically ruined past recovery . . . all possibility of reparation must vanish, all chance of a stable equilibrium." And so Britain again made her generous choice, this time, as it proved, to her cost, but also to her credit.

University of Delaware

MARSHALL KNAPPEN

COLONIAL LABOR POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION: A HISTORY OF LABOR IN THE RUBBER PLANTATION INDUSTRY IN MALAYA, C. 1910-1941. By *J. Norman Parmer*. [Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, Number 9.] (Locust Valley, N. Y.: J. J. Augustin for the Association. 1960. Pp. xii, 294. \$6.00.) Professor Parmer's carefully documented monograph explains in clarifying detail how Malayan labor policy for the rubber plantations was formulated and administered from 1910 to 1941. The account is dispassionate in tone and convincing in its conclusions. Initial chapters explain the circumstances requiring the mobilization of an alien labor force for Malaya, mainly Indian, and trace the historical development of regulations and administrative practices. Official encouragement of Chinese immigration was unnecessary, and regulations governing it were minimal. Separate chapters describe wage policies and the handling of periodic unemployment problems. An excellent concluding statement is followed by nine useful statistical tables. In 1912 Malaya devised a code of standards and a financial arrangement requiring all employers of Indian labor, including the government, to contribute proportionately to an Indian

Immigration Fund designed to finance labor recruitment. Recruiters (*kaganies*) were licensed by the fund's administering committee in proportion to the numbers of workers needed. The code prohibited indentured contracts, undertook to guarantee some measure of mobility for the laborer in Malaya, and established basic standards for housing and health facilities. A revised code appeared in 1923 in response to pressure from the reformed dyarchy government of India. Parmer reveals that the controller of the Labour Department charged with enforcing the rules normally worked in collusion with the employing planters. Rules were ignored during the depression of the early 1930's. Wages were kept low, an ample labor supply was maintained, and mobility was effectively hampered. The Malayan government's major concern was to forestall embarrassing complaints from the government of India or from London. The inarticulate rubber plantation workers were effectively denied economic freedom and bargaining power. Malaya's plural society is the legacy of the system. What is lacking in Parmer's account is some realistic description of living conditions on the plantations. The recruiting program was abruptly cancelled by New Delhi in 1938, after India achieved a substantial degree of self-government. An alternative plan to obtain Javanese labor was cut short by the Japanese war. Students of colonial development generally are indebted to Parmer for this illuminating account.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

THE WINDSOR BORDER REGION, CANADA'S SOUTHERNMOST FRONTIER: A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS. Edited with an introduction by *Ernest J. Lajeunesse*. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Ontario Series, Volume IV.] (Toronto: the Society. 1960. Pp. cxxix, 374. \$5.00.) Books on local history have been the butt of many a witticism among historians and would-be historians, some of it well deserved. On the other hand, a historian's ignorance of local history is comparable to a novelist's or an essayist's lack of knowledge of grammar. The individual who has never deciphered a handwritten baptismal register nor attempted to draw conclusions from an original map or diary is hardly qualified to bear the title of historian. In addition, he is a very naïve person, since he must trust implicitly the ability of others in ferreting out and reporting the basic facts of history as given in secondary material. A volume like the present one is a combination of original research and acceptance of the research of others; it is also an example of what the local historian can do to aid regional and general historians. The Detroit area lay athwart the main lines of travel, communication, settlement, and government of central North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its story, therefore, is the history of much of interior Canada and the United States. Besides transcripts of original documents and republication of data found in such acceptable sources as Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, Margry's volumes of French documents (in some cases questionably deciphered or edited by Margry, it should be added), and O'Callaghan's New York colonial documents, the book offers a fine introduction which integrates very successfully all this source material. There are amateurish touches here and there, but the editor, a professor of French, does not suffer in comparison with trained historians. He has produced a straightforward account, based on reliable documents, of the discovery, occupation, and settlement of the country bordering the strait between Lake Huron and Lake Erie.

St. Paul, Minnesota

GRACE LEE NUTE

PUBLIC SERVANT: THE MEMOIRS OF SIR JOSEPH POPE. Edited and completed by *Maurice Pope*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. 312. \$5.10.) The principal charm of this gracefully written excursion into Canadian and imperial politics is its unabashed portrayal of a calm, tolerant, unchanging, "thrice-dipped"

Tory. Of his earliest recollection, the visit of the Prince of Wales to Prince Edward Island in 1860, the author writes: "One was not compelled to listen in those days to any rubbish about 'nationhood' and 'equality of status' and all that sort of thing." His last line, 280 pages and sixty-five years later, restates the position: "We have all the liberty that is good for us, and some people think a good deal more." Sir Joseph Pope was private secretary to Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. He became a permanent civil servant, retiring in 1925 after serving under all subsequent Prime Ministers and having advised nine of the Governors-General. He served each as his generation's sense of duty dictated: Macdonald best by editing his correspondence, and Macdonald least by burning a portion of his collection. He also served in London, Paris, and Washington, and it is in his accounts of the Alaska boundary controversy and the Pelagic Sealing Conference that Pope does his readers the greatest service. Service is the theme of the book. The volume itself is handsomely produced, with a jacket, type face, illustrations, and index befitting its Victorian contents. Upon Sir Joseph's death in 1926 his son, Maurice Pope (who served as director of Military Intelligence and Operations in Ottawa after World War II), found that the autobiographical account had been brought down to 1907. From his father's papers he completed the record, summarizing and quoting at length, in 1930. He had to wait another three decades before the economics of the book trade would permit publication, but father and son were patient men. Patience is the flavor of the book.

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

AN AUSTRALIAN PERSPECTIVE. By *R. M. Crawford*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 82. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$1.50.) This book comprises three delightful and perceptive essays given as the Knaplund Lectures at the University of Wisconsin in 1958. Crawford pursues the aristocratic thread in Australian history, proving that it was not a backdrop in the nineteenth-century march of democracy, and rejects the stereotyped view of Australian history and culture by correcting two oversimplifications, indeed misconceptions, that Australian history is unrelievedly democratic and that democracy is necessarily hostile to distinction. The author's first essay shows how the nineteenth-century pastoralists, many of them Scots, became cultivated aristocrats. He probes the problem of the second generation, most of whom suffered financial losses. But they did not provide the governing class nor compensate by supplying leadership in art and learning. The second essay examines the birth of an aggressively Australian literature in the last part of the century. Crawford explores the conditions that allow the creation of literature and art in a new society and has some fresh observations on the great literary figures who wrote mostly of the outback. He explains how the bush legend was made legend by the *Sydney Bulletin* and demonstrates that its deliberate irreverence was at times immature and unfair, although filled with idealism and irony. More important, Crawford explains the reluctance of the poets to explore the life of the city. The third essay expresses the author's faith in Australia's future, which is verging on great achievements. Her men of intellect, he feels, have clarity of vision and will achieve distinction. In analyzing events leading up to the present, he pays tribute to Alfred Deakin, underscores the achievements of the formative years of the Commonwealth, 1901-1908, and records the signs of new maturity and professional skill following depression and World War II. Crawford buttresses his faith with examples of constructive achievements and the avoidance of hysteria following World War II.

San Francisco State College

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

EUROPE

CHARLES-QUINT ET SON TEMPS. [Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Sciences Humaines: Paris, 30 Septembre-3 Octobre 1958.] (Paris: the Centre. 1959. Pp. xvii, 228. 21 new fr.) The four hundredth anniversary of the death of the Emperor Charles V produced a rash of commemorative ceremonies, most of which took the form of learned conclaves in which scholars interested in some aspect of the first half of the sixteenth century assembled to read each other papers. The most grandiose was under the auspices of the University of Granada, but there were others at Salamanca, Madrid, and several places beyond the Pyrenees. Since the number of distinguished professors interested in the reign of Charles V, excluding Reformation specialists, is limited, some of the contributors to the Paris conference, Carande, Menéndez Pidal, Vicens Vives, Konetzke, Marcel Bataillon, Pierre Renouvin, and Delio Cantimori, must have met each other on similar occasions half a dozen times during 1958. Where so much talent is levied upon, there should be some fruit among the leaves. In this symposium Fernand Braudel's contribution, based largely on the researches of Mlle. Bellart to whom he gives generous credit, a study of Charles V's borrowing at Antwerp, breaks fresh ground. But most of the papers at this, as at most of the previous conferences, are occasional pieces. Either the author repeats some of his published conclusions or he produces, with an air of delighted surprise, some tired historical cliché. Of course it is pleasant for workers in the same vineyard to meet each other and talk things over. But must they all read each other papers, and must the papers also be published? One wonders whether first-rate scholars like these could not find some better use for their time and ours.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

DIE WELTWIRKUNG DER REFORMATION. By Gerhard Ritter. (2d ed.; Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1959. Pp. 172. DM 15.80.) This collection of essays, first published in 1941 and here augmented by two, is representative of the best of Professor Ritter's thought (from 1927 to 1946) on the Reformation's significance in history. Three concern the Reformation in its sixteenth-century setting, its spiritual roots, and its relation to German politics. A fourth has to do with Luther as embodying the German spirit, and a fifth contrasts the world and life view of Lutheranism with that of Roman Catholicism and Renaissance humanism. Then an essay is devoted to each of three men: Zwingli, Ulrich von Hutten, and Gustavus Adolphus. The ninth and last pertains to the mental set (*Geistesart*) of Germany and Western Europe as mirrored in modern church history. Though the main focus of the essays is on Luther, Lutheranism, and Germany, the author discusses them in such a way that we see them in a very broad context, especially of the Reformed and Anglican movements, all of which is enlightening. The author's view that humanism had a *Weltanschauung* competing with Rome's and Luther's is properly being challenged today; it is the only significant point on which I would differ with him. Humanism was a scholarly and literary movement. These essays are a treasury of insights; their style is always clear and often eloquent.

University of Oregon

QUIRINUS BREEN

FRANKREICH UND SEINE GEGNER AUF DEM NYMWEGENER FRIEDENS-KONGRESS. By Paul Otto Höynck. [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Number 16.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1960. Pp. 213. DM 18.) It has long been a bibliographical curiosity in diplomatic history that the most recent general study of the Peace of Nijmegen (1678-1679) was that published in 1680 by Saint-Didier, a wheel horse

of the Quai d'Orsay. Yet the peace deserved closer and more scholarly scrutiny. The Nijmegen settlement embodied with peculiar force the paradox that dominated the diplomacy of Louis XIV, that he could not defeat Europe nor Europe him totally and for good; this was the stalemate expressed with unintended exactness in the Sun King's motto *nec pluribus impar*. The Nijmegen peace also illustrated with great clarity the intricacies and subtleties of negotiations between camps of allies. Such a subject is therefore particularly well suited to the skills and insights of a diplomatic historian, but it is likewise beset with dangers, notably from one-sided use of sources and failure to take adequate account of the influence of domestic affairs upon foreign policy. The author of the present study has fallen in these pits. Although he explored the archival materials in Paris and Vienna, he does not scruple to depend upon secondary sources, often of little or no authority, for the other sides of his subject. His comprehension of England and the United Provinces is especially weak. He commits dozens of errors in bibliographical citation, some amazingly gross. Since so much of the narrative is built upon Mignet's *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne* (1835-1842), it is hardly surprising that there is little in this account which was not already known. An adequate treatment of the history of the negotiation of the Peace of Nijmegen, equal to the importance of the affair, still remains to be written.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

HERBERT H. ROWEN

DER POLNISCHE GRENZSTREIFEN, 1914-1918: EIN BEITRAG ZUR DEUTSCHEN KRIEGSZIELPOLITIK IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Immanuel Geiss*. [Historische Studien, Number 378.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1960. Pp. 183. DM 18.) German annexation and population resettlement schemes in Poland during World War I are treated in this book. The first of four chapters of the volume deals briefly with the historical background of Prussian-German Polish policy; the second analyzes numerous forces and pressures within the Second Reich which favored a policy of territorial aggrandizement and Germanization; the third examines various annexation schemes considered by the government during the first two years of the war; and the fourth discusses the annexation problem during the ascendancy of the military. An appendix of several key documents and a brief bibliography round out the volume. On the whole this is a careful, critical, scholarly, and well-balanced study. It is based largely on unpublished sources found in various German archives. These in turn are supplemented by published materials pertinent to the problem. Two basic ideas seem to stand out in this study. The author maintains, and in my opinion rightly so, that although German annexation plans never "saw the light" (Germany being defeated), these elaborate but empty schemes, devised by men who had lost touch with reality, had no chance of success. Past Germanization policy pursued actively by the Second Reich before World War I, mistreatment, and general alienation of the Poles were only a few of the many insurmountable barriers German policy had to overcome. Germany, according to Geiss, lost in Poland not because of military defeat but because of the lack of a political policy. The second point to which the author makes repeated references is the similarity between German annexation schemes of World War I and those of Hitler. Geiss maintains that the national and liberal elements of Wilhelminian Germany (advocates of annexation and Germanization) paved the way for Hitler's expansion schemes. In the author's view the difference between the two centered only in methods employed.

Portland State College

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

THE DIPLOMACY OF APPEASEMENT: ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS AND THE PRELUDE TO WORLD WAR II, 1931-1938. By *Arthur H. Furnia*. With a

preface by *James Fitzgerald Brewer*. (Washington, D. C.: University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 454. \$6.00.) When a young scholar chooses to confront the historical profession with a first book on a topic like this one, he may as well reconcile himself to that saddest of fates—a bad notice in the *American Historical Review*. So much has already been written on Anglo-French diplomatic relations in the 1930's that it would require either a set of provocative new insights or a spate of new source materials to justify another exhaustive study. Mr. Furnia has provided us with something in the way of new source materials by examining the State Department's archives for the period. But to write the story of Anglo-French relations on the basis of dispatches from the American ambassadors in Europe (and even in Ankara!) would be a risky procedure even if our representatives there had been men of unusual perspicacity. Furnia had access, of course, to the published British diplomatic documents for the first and last years of his study, but the revelations contained therein had already been pretty thoroughly exploited. As for the French side of the relationship, Furnia has had to rely on the same semireliable memoirs used by his predecessors. Furnia's principal thesis, described in the preface as "revisionist" in nature, is that Édouard Daladier was in fact an unsung hero who did his best to save Czechoslovakia and to avert disaster, but whose efforts were overridden by that scheming neo-Machiavellian Neville Chamberlain, abetted by his French collaborator Georges Bonnet. There is certainly a measure of validity in this attempt to rehabilitate Daladier, though I think that it goes much too far, and I suspect that it is a less novel idea than Furnia takes it to be. The disturbing thing about his interpretation is its uncompromising positiveness, its depiction of character and motive in tones of absolute black and white with no intermediate shadings. The principal characters are typed by attaching to each one a single descriptive adjective: "the courageous Barthou," "the pliable Blum," "the brave Benes," Chamberlain's "shameful appeasement" and "brazen duplicity." Nowhere does Furnia make a real attempt to understand the behavior of his villains, or to raise appeasement above the level of calculated malevolence and shortsighted ignorance. The complexities of most of the policy decisions of the decade go almost unnoticed; alternative explanations are simply ignored. At the risk of accentuating the negative, I must add that Furnia's book contains far too many technical flaws: errors in spelling and word usage, loose or awkward grammatical constructions, frequent repetitions, inept footnoting, and a sporadic tendency to lean on very dubious sources. All of these shortcomings could have been averted by more rigorous supervision and by the kind of editorial assistance provided by any reputable publishing house. This volume leaves me with the strong impression that Furnia has the native talent and energy to write good history. He has not done so this time.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

SOVETSKO-FRANTSUZSKIE OTNOSHENIIA VO VREMIA VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI VOINY 1941-1945 GG.: DOKUMENTY I MATERIALY [Franco-Soviet Relations during the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945: Documents and Materials]. (Moscow: State Publishing House for Political Literature for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. 1959. Pp. 551.) Five years ago the Soviet government undertook a series of measures to grant researchers freer access to state archives in order to arouse the historical profession from the intellectual torpor into which it had fallen at the end of the Stalinist era. A commission of the Foreign Ministry was established under Andrei Gromyko to edit diplomatic documents, and this volume on Franco-Soviet relations during the Second World War is its most recent publication. The collection of 288 documents, largely unpublished before, illuminates relations between General de Gaulle and Stalin in the period from August 1941 to August 1945. Though the work is scholarly in

form, the introduction by K. Tsybina and the careful selection of documents clearly are aimed at giving the impression that during the war the Soviet Union, as a loyal ally of the Western powers and France, was exclusively concerned with defeating Germany, but that France was so preoccupied with enhancing its own power and prestige that it did not hesitate to create discord among the Big Three to attain its ends. To achieve their purpose, the editors have omitted from the correspondence all instructions from the Foreign Ministry to Soviet representatives abroad, thus providing no direct evidence of the long-range aims of Soviet policy planners. There is, of course, nothing available here from the French side either. The mass of indirect evidence, nevertheless, leads to the conclusion that for three years De Gaulle tried to establish an alliance of equals between France and the USSR on the basis of common problems "not shared by the Anglo-Saxon powers." This, he hoped, would guarantee a truly independent French foreign policy. At the same time, the Soviet leaders maneuvered to bring De Gaulle's foreign policy into line with theirs without disrupting the wartime arrangements between the Big Three. The documents show that more than once Stalin deceived De Gaulle by misrepresenting the Soviet position on matters of great interest to the French. In 1944 he crudely blackmailed De Gaulle into exchanging at least unofficial representatives with the Lublin Poles by threatening not to sign a bilateral treaty. De Gaulle and his representatives were sharply critical of the State Department, accusing it of "secret plots" to keep Pétain in power, "to preserve a strong Germany against the USSR and France," and at one time threatening to transfer Free French headquarters from London to Moscow. In addition, the collection is an important contribution to an understanding of such problems as the Soviet attitude toward the North African imbroglio, French influence in Poland, Anglo-French colonial quarrels, recognition of Free France, and negotiations on the founding of the United Nations.

Northwestern University

ALFRED J. RIEBER

THE ROYAL FUNERAL CEREMONY IN RENAISSANCE FRANCE. By *Ralph E. Giesey*. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume XXXVII.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1960. Pp. 233. 44 fr. S.) The title of this imaginative work, which reflects in many ways Ernst Kantorowicz' influence, points to the kinds of evidence on which it is based rather than to its purposes, for it is primarily an essay in constitutional history. Professor Giesey is concerned with an important problem in the evolution of modern government, that of administrative continuity. In the early Middle Ages kingship was theoretically transmitted to a new ruler, often after some delay, through the rites of consecration and coronation. But by the seventeenth century royal authority was conceived as passing to the new king with the last breath of his predecessor; hence the paradoxical formula that the king never dies. The author of this book interprets the royal funeral ceremony as it developed in Renaissance France as a "ritualistic compromise" between the two conceptions of kingship. With the burial of the dead ruler which brought the funeral to its climax, the royal insignia were dipped for a moment into the grave and then raised on high with the cry: "The king is dead; long live the king!" Thus neither the death of the old king nor the coronation of the new provided the ceremonial transmission of sovereignty which was accomplished at the funeral itself. Other elements in the ceremony, generally introduced for quite different reasons, were pressed into the service of this conception. A central feature of the funeral, the effigy of the dead king, whose use in the extended obsequies originally solved the problem posed by the decomposition of the corpse, came to represent the survival of royal authority; the persistent life of this "other body" of the king was nourished by its participation in ritual meals. The disappearance of the effigy, which was last used in the royal funeral of 1610, marks, on

the other hand, the full triumph of modern kingship. Compromise was no longer necessary, and the new king of France henceforth asserted his sovereignty before either his own coronation or the funeral of his predecessor. In its combination of iconography and liturgics with social, intellectual, and political history, this book is also a stimulating example of what can be done with sources most historians have ignored.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

CORRESPONDANCE DE THÉODORE DE BÈZE. Volume I, 1539-1555. Collected by Hippolyte Aubert. Published under the direction of Fernand Aubert and Henri Meylan. [Société du Musée historique de la Réformation. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume XL.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1960. Pp. 225. 36 fr. S.) Most of the seventy letters in this volume were written by Beza, though there are some addressed to him. An appendix contains extracts from the archives of Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva which illuminate his career, together with some of his verses and prefaces. There are a few verses in the appendix written to him, or against him. We see the young humanist becoming an ardent Protestant, devoting his scholarship to the cause of the reform as professor of Greek in the academy at Lausanne and turning his literary talents from profane subjects to the translation of the Psalms into French. He was concerned with the fate of the true believers everywhere, deploring the persecuting activities of Henry II ("Pharaoh") and Mary Tudor ("Jezebel"), while maintaining a fine intolerance of his own. He heartily condemned Servetus (as he condemned all of Calvin's opponents) and was so incensed at Castellio's plea for toleration, the *De haereticis an sint persequendi*, that he wrote an answer to it, *De haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis*. Only about a tenth of the letters in this volume are published for the first time, though many have been published previously in incomplete and somewhat incorrect texts. From the middle of 1554, however, the proportions will be reversed, as M. Moylan, the surviving editor, informs us. The edition is admirable. The footnotes provide a wealth of information, though there might have been a fuller treatment of certain episodes referred to in the letters. The introduction does not deal with the life and work of Beza, but gives a valuable history of the publication of his correspondence. This edition, because of various delays, has been in the making for about half a century. It is to be hoped that the publication of the first volume is a good omen and that the subsequent ones will not be long in appearing. They will be a valuable source of information for the second half of the sixteenth century.

University of Kansas

WILLIAM GILBERT

AN INTRODUCTION TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRANCE. By John Lough. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1960. Pp. xv, 349. \$5.75.) This thoughtful, well-organized, and interesting work by a professor of French at the University of Durham, England, which is a sequel to his *Introduction to Seventeenth Century France* (1954), is designed to give students of French literature a better understanding of political, economic, and social conditions in eighteenth-century France and of the relationship between these and the literature of the period. It is not original in research or interpretation, except for the chapter on "The Writer and His Public," where Lough is a specialist, but he has ably summarized the most recent findings of historians of French history. Thus, in examining the factors that contributed to the outbreak of revolution in 1789, he draws upon Labrousse's studies of price movements. These show that France, in whose economy agriculture was still of basic importance, experienced a period of great prosperity from 1730 to 1778, but then suffered an economic depression which created great unrest. He notes the growing wealth of the bourgeoisie

and its desire for greater political and social influence, but stresses particularly the resurgence of the aristocracy and its struggle to attain greater political and economic power. Lough devotes three chapters to a detailed examination of the status of the peasantry, privileged orders, and inhabitants of the towns, and three to the reigns of the Regent and Fleury, Louis XV, and Louis XVI. The two chapters on literature are concerned with the economic and social position of the writer, some characteristics of French literary style, the influence of the Paris salons on literature, and censorship. A final chapter attempts to summarize in twelve pages the major political and social achievements of the French Revolution. Diplomatic history is treated very lightly. At least one chapter analyzing the political ideas of the philosophes more fully would have been valuable for the general reader. Lough does not document the secondary sources he has drawn upon, but indicates them in a brief list of "Suggestions for Further Reading," in which only one work by an American, Franklin Ford, is included. A novel feature of the book is the use of many long French quotations from correspondence, journals, and memoirs. These add flavor to the text, but might limit the usefulness of the book. Lough shows that he is aware of the need for caution in using eighteenth-century memoirs, yet he quotes at length from the Marquis d'Argenson and Barbier. A critical discussion of these sources might well have been added to the long "Index of Authors Quoted." On the whole, this is a scholarly work and a laudable attempt to reveal the relationship between literature and its historical environment.

State University College of Education, New Paltz, New York EVELYN M. ACOMB

TALLEYRAND'S SUCCESSOR: ARMAND-EMMANUEL DU PLESSIS, DUC DE RICHELIEU 1766-1822. By *Cynthia Cox*. (London: Arthur Barker Ltd. 1959. Pp. 224. 25s.) The author has performed a distinct service by providing the first full-scale biography in English of a much-neglected but significant figure in the history of both Restoration France and early nineteenth-century Russia. Indeed, this is only the second such life of the Duke to appear in print, the other being that of Léon de Crousaz-Crétet, published in France in 1897. Miss Cox divides Richelieu's career into its three logical components and deals with each as a unit: his early years as a soldier-adventurer and *émigré* before and during the Revolution, his period of service in Russia as governor of Odessa and New Russia in the Napoleonic era, and, finally, his career as French Prime Minister from late 1815 until his death in 1822. Though the book contains no footnotes, both the text and the annotated bibliography demonstrate the author's knowledge and use of the important contemporary and secondary materials pertaining to the Duke. Miss Cox presents a well-balanced and fair-minded treatment of her subject. No significant aspect of his life or career is overlooked. Miss Cox's narrative approach leaves certain points vague or questions unanswered that a more analytical study might have resolved. This limitation, however, does not detract seriously from the merit of the biography. In short, while the specialist will continue to consult the more exhaustive study of Richelieu by Crousaz-Crétet, the more general reader will find Miss Cox's work satisfactory.

Western Washington College

DON J. BUTTRICK

FRANCE, STEADFAST AND CHANGING: THE FOURTH TO THE FIFTH REPUBLIC. By *Raymond Aron*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 201. \$4.75.) "Self-criticism is, in France," as Raymond Aron observes, "a national sport, if not an endemic disease." Yet few are as well qualified as he to write yet another book on the French dilemma or to make a dispassionate analysis of the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Republic. *France, Steadfast and Changing*

does not, it is true, advance any interpretations that are strikingly different. The theme is essentially the familiar one that to understand France one must realize that she is a baffling mixture of old and new, "of permanence and change, continuity and reversals, [which] blend in a subtle and sometimes paradoxical fashion." Yet Aron does not, like Herbert Lüthy, therefore conclude that France is merely a hopeless mass of contradictions, a nation united only against herself. Nor does he minimize the difficulties confronting his country. The Fifth Republic, he contends, has by no means resolved its own inconsistencies, and "a regime dependent upon one man as much as the Fifth Republic . . . is, fundamentally, in a precarious position." In provocative chapters which analyze colonial and international affairs, Aron emphasizes that the French have been unable to organize the transfer of their empire and have failed to adjust to the new postwar order of world affairs. Indeed, though himself originally a Gaullist, he has reservations about De Gaulle's "policy of grandeur" and "his drive for diplomatic autonomy for a France restored to its rank of a power with world responsibility." The various chapters in this slim volume were first delivered at Harvard as lectures in late 1957. They have obviously been brought up to date and now include a postscript that analyzes the Gaullist regime through the end of 1958. The result is by no means a complete study of the French scene; rather it is a collection of interpretative essays which focus upon the nature of the political game, the actual state of the French economy (incidentally, the most original and informative chapter of the six), the advent of De Gaulle, and various colonial and international issues. *France, Steadfast and Changing* is, nonetheless, more valuable than many more systematic, lengthier studies, and it shows conclusively that "the France of the Fifth Republic deceives those who love simple ideas just as much as did the France of the Fourth Republic." *Princeton University*

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER

DE GAULLE'S REPUBLIC. By Philip M. Williams and Martin Harrison. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1960. Pp. vii, 279. \$4.50.) Mr. Williams and Mr. Harrison had already combined to write a lively, informative report of the startling French elections of 1958 (in *Elections Abroad*, ed. D. E. Butler [1959]). In *De Gaulle's Republic* they have given us a brief balance sheet of the Fourth Republic; a pithy account of its last days and of the incredible proliferation of plots that produced the *treize mai* and De Gaulle's return to power; the story of the writing and the acceptance of the new constitution; an analysis of governmental institutions and political forces of the Fifth Republic; and a narrative of developments under De Gaulle, especially of the relations between France and Black Africa and between Paris and Algiers, where the fate of France is still at stake. This is well-informed and judicious contemporary history, as serene as such history can be. The book abounds in incisive brief characterizations of the style and the ideas, the actions and the ambiguities, of De Gaulle and Debré. It is shrewd in its assessment of the constitution, parties, pressure groups, the trends of public opinion, and the course of events. One might be willing to sacrifice some of the attention given to a constitution almost certain to prove ephemeral and already, as the authors show, violated and evaded by its architects, in favor of more of the authors' insights into the short-run operation (or failure to operate) of the long-run historical forces that Williams stressed in his superb *Politics in Post-War France* (2d ed., 1958). None of those who most distrust De Gaulle can answer the question: how could democracy (even attenuated) have survived after May 13, 1958, without De Gaulle? Even those who most admire him cannot answer the question: what in the structure or the style of government in the Fifth Republic gives a basis for democratic politics when De Gaulle leaves the scene? Williams and Harrison have posed the most important problems, as they have told the story coherently and ranged

the evidence expertly for their readers to judge for themselves. Wisely, they have not oversimplified the tangle of events nor minimized the difficulties in the way of a renewal of democratic political life out of the confusion and apathy—and often inspired personal leadership—which are the conditions of De Gaulle's France.

University of Oregon

VAL R. LORWIN

GÉOGRAPHIE DE L'ESPAGNE MORISQUE. By *Henri Lapeyre*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Démographie et Sociétés, Volume II.] (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N. 1959. Pp. 304.) The tragedy of the Moriscos, the nominally Christian but unassimilable Moors expelled from Spain in 1609, deserves special attention in our age of genocide and "resettlement." Political and religious aspects have perhaps been exhausted, both from a scientific and a polemic viewpoint. But serious investigation into social and economic consequences has had to await the prosaic task of precisely enumerating and locating the Moriscos. Men like Reglá and Halperín Donghi laid some groundwork during the past decade or so. Now Lapeyre, drawing together the disparate researches, new and ancient, assesses and corrects them in the light of his own extensive archival findings. Maps, lists, charts, and documents consume a fourth of the volume; the badly neglected Simancas archives are laid under heavy tribute. For some areas the statistical material is abundant and accurate. Elsewhere it must be eked out with interpretative wrestlings. Valencia and the Castilian regions divide the space, with a brief consideration also of Aragon-Catalonia. Lapeyre argues to a figure of some 300,000 (in a Spanish population of eight to nine million): Valencia 135,000; Aragon 61,000; the Castiles 45,000; Andalusia thirty thousand; Murcia sixteen thousand; Catalonia five thousand; Granada three thousand; the Canaries one thousand. Their unequal local distribution (Valencia's concentration in the *secano*, for example) is painstakingly plotted, village by village. Perhaps ten thousand were to remain in Spain, another ten to fifteen thousand perishing in battle and elsewhere. Lapeyre's limited scope and statistical approach make for heavy reading, despite his graceful style. Perfectionists might frown at the simple name index, reprove the very occasional lapses in town orthography, leap to correct "Mosen Moscardó" to (Mossén) Frederic Moscardó Cervera in the bibliography, regret the neglect of the Cathedral Archives at Valencia, or note the omission of Halperín Donghi's 275-page article (*Cuadernos de historia de España*). But despite all such quibbles, and methodological preferences, the *Géographie* will be welcomed as a fundamental contribution to Morisco research, a work of sound and patient construction.

University of San Francisco

R. IGNATIUS BURNS, S. J.

THE SPANISH ARMADA. By *Michael Lewis*. [British Battles Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. 216. \$4.50.) The books in the British Battles Series so far follow an established pattern. First they place the battle in its setting, with something about the leaders on both sides, a sketch of the preceding events, political and military, and whatever is needed about weapons, formations, and tactical doctrines. Then a slam-bang account of the battle itself and its immediate aftermath take up about half the book which ends with a few remarks about the place of the battle in history. The authors in the series have all been more or less experts. They seem to have been asked to supply brief, brisk, sturdily patriotic narratives, not too unconventional, meant for popular consumption. Professor Michael Lewis' book adheres to the formula. Twenty years ago Lewis' articles in the *Mariners' Mirror* illumined the Armada campaign, indeed made sense for the first time of parts of the story of the fighting in the Channel. In his present book, the section on the ships and guns of the two fleets is absolutely first rate, and his transposition of his analytical conclusions into

narrative makes a vivid and convincing synthesis. The rest is disappointing. The English captains, their motives and exploits, sound as if they came from an old-fashioned textbook. What is said of the Spanish leans too heavily for safety on Froude's more than usually inaccurate account of the first Spanish documents published. But the chief disappointment is the tactical narrative where one would have expected the highest excellence. Here, strangely enough, Lewis has chosen to ignore all the published Spanish sources, which contain nine-tenths of the data, except those cited by Corbett or easily available in translation. Consequently Spanish movements and command decisions are too often distorted and misrepresented, times and formations are needlessly confused, and incredible evolutions are assumed. The narrative, nevertheless, remains brisk, vigorous, disarmingly partisan, and, unless one tries to plot the movements on a chart or looks back at the sources, crystal clear. No schoolboy will be disturbed by it.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION IN THE PHILIPPINES: THE LIFE AND CHURCH OF GREGORIO AGLIPAY, 1860-1960. Volume 1, FROM AGLIPAY'S BIRTH TO HIS DEATH: 1860-1940. By *Pedro S. de Achútegui, S. J.*, and *Miguel A. Bernad, S.J.* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila. 1960. Pp. xiv, 578. Cloth 15.00 pesos, paper 8.00 pesos.) The revolt of the Filipinos from Spanish rule drew its motivation from a complexity of causes. Prominent among them were Asiatic racial and cultural antagonisms against the European, Filipino national aspirations, resentment against binding Spanish class and caste systems, and especially a caste system within the clergy of the Catholic Church. This last, the one considered in this volume, is possibly the most important factor because it furnished a quasi-religious and moral context for the revolt. As the Spanish Bourbon administrative system had developed in the Philippines, the missionary orders of the Church became the principal instrument for the expansion, and later, the retention of Spanish controls over the islands. Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinian Recollects, drawing their personnel principally from Spain, controlled the parishes and even the episcopal sees long after the areas had ceased to be mission territories. The local Filipino secular clergy, as a result, were restricted to minor roles as coadjutors in the parishes. The Aglipayan Church arose out of the situation which bound up the fight against Spanish authority with an attack on its clerico-political system in the islands. The hatred of the Spanish "Friarchy" moved a number of the Filipino seculars to reject first the authority of their friar-bishops and then, after the failure of their appeals to Rome, of the papacy itself. Later doctrinal changes in the Aglipayan Church toward rationalism and Unitarianism came from the frantic efforts of an unstable leadership to court friends wherever they could be found. The crowning blow to Aglipayan aspirations seems to have come from the Philippine Supreme Court decision of 1906, which awarded to the Catholic Church as a juridical entity all properties held during the Spanish regime. Thus the Aglipayans lost their great opportunity to be the legitimate successors of the Spanish Church in the islands. This overargued and discursive first volume describes the religious revolution to 1940 and the death of Aglipay. A projected second will continue the account to 1960 and promises a documentary appendix. An impressive coverage of manuscript materials, both in the United States and the Philippines, makes this work significant in the large body of polemical literature on the subject where the initial necessity is to establish basic facts. A notable omission, however, is the large collection of materials in the Newberry Library in Chicago. The authors would have found there, for instance, a revealing exchange of letters between the American commander Otis and Aguinaldo where the latter insists on keeping the friars in prison to give him a bargaining position with the papacy for his Philippine clergy. This is graphic support for the authors' con-

tention that the Aglipayan Church had strong political orientation. Another disappointment is the slight attention given to the antecedent problem of the friars' Church and its attendant failure to Hispanicize the Filipinos.

Loyola University

PAUL S. LIETZ

AFTENPOSTEN I HUNDRE ÅR, 1860-1960. By *Gunnar Christie Wasberg*. (Oslo: Chr. Schibsteds Forlag. 1960. Pp. 324.) Over a period of time a large modern newspaper develops a recognized tradition, particularly if it turns out to be the leading daily of its country. To capture something of that tradition must be a major endeavor of any historian who is authorized to write its centennial volume. In Wasberg's book the mood and the role of Oslo's *Aftenposten* are faithfully portrayed. Much of the discourse is devoted to three major phases. One concerns the beginnings and continuing problems of internal "housekeeping." A second treats the daily's services to the community as a news and advertising medium. The third has to do with *Aftenposten's* role as an organ of opinion. Since it never has been a party organ in the strict sense, more than one reader will find helpful the intermittent characterizations of its role as spokesman for a conservative point of view. More rigidly than may have been necessary, the author follows a pattern of periodization; wider use of the topical approach, particularly in relating editorial and columnist opinion to general discussions of contemporary issues, would have curtailed the impression of disjointedness and lack of clear focus which quite often is left. For the historian of European journalism there is much useful, even some indispensable, information. Those who will enjoy the volume most are, naturally, associates and employees connected with this extensive journalistic enterprise.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

SCHULD DER WEISSEN? DIE SPÄTZEIT DES KOLONIALISMUS. By *Wahrhold Drascher*. (Tübingen: Verlag Fritz Schlichtenmayer. 1960. Pp. 327. DM 17.80.) This book is like a wolf wearing unusually transparent sheep's clothing. The author saw service in the German Imperial Navy in China and later led in colonial expansion. In 1936 he wrote a book he still likes to refer to entitled *Die Vorherrschaft der weissen Rasse* in which, bowing to *unser Führer* Adolf Hitler, he extols Hitler as the savior of the white race. When one opens certain pages of that book, one has a sensation like inhaling a whiff of cyclon B, the gas that killed the Jews in the concentration camps. In the present book there are no outward vestiges of the author's apparent anti-Semitism, and the outlook is adapted to the taste of the more humanitarian 1960's. Still the old goals are shining through. He hopes that "das innere Bewusstsein einer gottgewolten Sendung" will not be lost to present Germany. He blames America for what she did to the Indians, and the British for the slave trade. He waxes lyrical when picturing the situation of the whites in the Union of South Africa of which in his earlier book he said, "der weisse Mann ist nicht bereit, seine Herrschaft über den Eingeborenen aufzugeben, und er gesteht dem Farbigen nicht soziale oder politische Gleichberechtigung zu." Following the same line, Drascher exonerates German colonialism, since he ardently desires some kind of German colonial revival, and, for instance, says approvingly about Imperial Germany's extinction of the Southwest African population—one of the worst spots in colonial history—"gewiss hatten [die Deutschen] etwa im Herero-Aufstand in Südwestafrika, zu einseitig nach militärischen Gesichtspunkten gehandelt. . . ." Still, I cannot deny that I read Drascher's book with interest and with considerable profit. Granting Drascher's viewpoint—he now aims at saving the white man in his retreat and at building his devices into the international battle front—one cannot deny that the book, even more than Drascher's earlier publications, is well written, that it draws a well-proportioned picture of the history of colonialism, that it shows considerable skill in

clearly and succinctly presenting complicated events, that on the basis of the author's rich colonial experience it illuminates hidden and dark points, and that Drascher, having mellowed politically, gives a number of points in his final conclusions that should be seriously considered by those trying to improve relations between the Old World and the colonial man.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

DAS EVANGELISCHE KIRCHEN- UND SCHULWESEN IN OSTPREUSSEN WÄHREND DER REGIERUNG FRIEDRICH DES GROSSEN. By *Hartwig Notbohm*. [Studien zur Geschichte Preussens, Volume V.] (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 1959. Pp. 219. DM 19.50.) This is the fifth volume in a series of studies on Prussian history. It analyzes the social and economic conditions under which the church and the schools in East Prussia and Prussian Lithuania had to exist under the reign of Frederick the Great. As such, it is as much church as cultural history. The author depicts the struggle between the orthodox and the Pietists to control both the village churches and schools and the interrelations between the two institutions. Finally the ideology of the Enlightenment weakened the hold of both, particularly in Königsberg, the spiritual center of East Prussia. Efforts to continue the church- and school-building program of Pietist Frederick William I in East Prussia in the early years of Frederick the Great's reign without liberal support from the monarch are characterized as a series of stopgap measures. With the Seven Years' War, East Prussia, and especially Prussian Lithuania, suffered from the Russian invasion. Following the war, activity in building the church and school systems was limited by devaluation of money, scarcity of artisans, and a decrease in tax collections. Also, after the war, East Prussia was only on the periphery of the interest of Frederick the Great as his attention focused on Silesia and West Prussia. The concluding chapters give a vivid picture of the low economic status of the pastors and of the schoolmasters, who supplemented their incomes with other jobs or eked out a livelihood by working in the fields during the summer. In the church schools, with trained teachers, spelling, reading, writing, religion, and often arithmetic were taught, while in the regular village school, with untrained artisan teachers, instruction was limited to spelling, some reading, and Biblical history. Even these schools were irregularly attended because parents lacked interest and landowners demanded cheap labor. School construction did not keep pace with the growing number of villages. Teachers often had classes of fifty pupils whose ages ranged from five to thirty years. Notbohm concludes that Frederick William I, not Frederick the Great, deserves the name of *Schulkönig* as far as East Prussia is concerned. Utilizing the manuscripts in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv Merseburg, the Staatliches Archivlager Göttingen, and the Universitätsarchiv Halle/Saale, printed sources, and secondary works, the author has produced a remarkable study.

Ball State Teachers College

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER PRODUKTIVKRÄFTE UND PRODUKTIONSVERHÄLTNISSE IN PREUSSEN 1810-1933: SPEZIALINVENTAR DES BESTANDES PREUSSISCHES MINISTERIUM FÜR HANDEL UND GEWERBE. Volume II. Compiled by *Herbert Buck*. [Schriftenreihe des deutschen Zentralarchivs, Number 2.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1960. Pp. 958. DM 30.) This is the first published product of a research project launched by the state archives of the German Democratic Republic. It is a guide to the voluminous source materials available in the Prussian Ministry of Commerce and Industry for the years 1810 to 1933 and, as such, will be invaluable to

economic and, especially, labor historians. Though focused primarily on Prussia, the work contains useful references to relevant data in other economically developing areas on labor welfare, industrial conflicts, and factory and workshop legislation. The geographical, occupational, and subject matter indexes are a great convenience in locating appropriate sources.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

HARDENBERGS UMFRAGE ÜBER DIE LAGE DER KINDER IN DEN FABRIKEN UND ANDERE DOKUMENTE AUS DER FRÜHGESCHICHTE DER LAGE DER ARBEITER. Edited by *Ruth Hoppe et al.* With an introduction by *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part I, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Volume VIII.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960. Pp. viii, 206. DM 11.) BÜRGERLICHE UND HALBFEUDALE LITERATUR AUS DEN JAHREN 1840 BIS 1847 ZUR LAGE DER ARBEITER: EINE CHRESTOMATHIE. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. With a bibliographical supplement by *Ruth Hoppe*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part I, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Volume IX.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960. Pp. vii, 305. DM 16.) These two works constitute part of a thirty-eight-volume series on the history of the condition of the worker in capitalist society since 1789 in Germany, England, the United States, and France. They are designed as documentary supplements to Volume I of the series, *The History of the Condition of the Laborer in Germany from 1789 to 1849*. Volume VIII comprises the textual replies of six provincial Prussian governors to an inquiry addressed to them in 1817 by Hardenberg on the condition of the industrial workers in their areas, with special reference to the plight of the juvenile wage earning population. Volume IX embraces material appearing in newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and books written by journalists, professors, factory owners and managers, civil servants, and clergymen during the years 1840 to 1847 and primarily concerned with the condition of the contemporary German factory workers. Included in Volume IX is a very useful bibliography, prepared by Ruth Hoppe, citing material which appeared during the years 1820 to 1850. The most striking aspect of this documentary collection lies in the seemingly widespread contemporary interest in and concern with the plight of the first generation of German factory workmen. Significant also is the preoccupation of the Prussian state with the stultifying impact of factory labor on the younger generation, especially as it affected their military and educational potential. Most commentators stressed the sanctity of individual economic freedom. "Utopian" remedial measures were advanced by many writers though only a handful urged state legislative intervention. Kuczynski, the well-known editor of the series, occupies a chair at the University of Berlin and lives in East Germany. His introductions are set in the familiar Marxian ideological framework, yet he is disturbed that so many of his commentators fell under Adam Smith's intellectual spell. Especially arrogant is Kuczynski's comment, in the introduction to Volume IX, "that the bourgeoisie has taken great pains to obliterate the testimonials of early industrial society" and that "it is only natural that Marxist historians, who have a special interest in uncovering all progressive tendencies in history, focus special attention on this phase of the bourgeois ideology." This bias is not evident in the public accounts reproduced in Volume VIII, but may have influenced the editorial selection and organization of private opinion reflected in Volume IX. Thus forewarned, the specialist in modern European economic and labor history will find both sets of documents useful, interesting, and illuminating.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

LUDWIG I. VON BAYERN. By *Egon Caesar Conte Corti*. (6th ed.; Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann, 1960. Pp. 343. [DM 12.80.]) The life of King Ludwig I of Bavaria is said by Egon Caesar Conte Corti, at the end of this rather uncritical biography, to have been a rich one, full of battle and victory, care and joy, success and defeat. If, as the author says, to have been a man of good will who loved his people, nation, beautiful women (many of them), and beauty itself is enough to constitute greatness in a king, then he has proven his point. To me, the life story of this sorry monarch is a trivial tale of frivolity, frustration, and futility, spent in pursuit of happiness which he did not find either for himself or for his people. As a youth and heir apparent, although hostile to the French imperium, he was compelled to follow Napoleon while his father's policy won them their royal titles. Although an advocate of German unity, he abhorred unification under Prussian hegemony. Jealous of the royal prerogative, he was forced to abdicate in 1848, more by the scandal over his infatuation for Lola Montez than as a concession to democracy. He thought he had provided for the happiness and prosperity of the people of Greece when he procured the throne of that country for one of his sons, Otto, who could not keep it. After abdicating, he lived for twenty years, a drifter seeking the sunshine, inordinately vain at eighty because his hair was "blond, not grey," only to see his namesake grandson's power and prerogatives threatened on account of his (Ludwig II's) adulation of Richard Wagner, his extravagance, and approaching insanity. Both are remembered principally for the ornate *Schlösser*, parks, and art museums on which they lavished time and wealth. In his last will, Ludwig called Germany his "greater Fatherland," Bavaria his "narrower" one. Although numerous letters are quoted, there is no documentation or other scholarly paraphernalia but an *Archiv- und Literaturverzeichnis*, a *Namenverzeichnis*, and a *Stammtafel* without which the reader would have found Wittelsbacher family relationships bewildering. There are more of these here than of serious history of Bavaria or Germany.

University of Wisconsin

CHESTER V. EASUM

SOZIALISTENFRAGE UND REVOLUTIONSFURCHT IN IHREM ZUSAMMENHANG MIT DEN ANGEBLICHEN STAATSTREICHPLÄNEN BISMARCKS. By *Werner Pöls*. [Historische Studien, Number 377.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1960. Pp. 103. DM 9.80.) This book may be typical of the works of the younger generation of historians in West Germany being reared by men who long for the good old times and raise their students in the spirit of "Bismarck, Bismarck, über alles." It is true that Pöls and some of the older scholars recognize the fact, not always acknowledged previously, that Bismarck was wrong in believing that the rise of the socialist movement could be fought with the sword and the knout. The university milieu that surrounds him, however, not only limits his awareness of the negative sides of the "Iron Chancellor," but also prevents him from considering the social and economic forces essential for the presentation of the relations between Bismarck and the *Sozialdemokratie*. Pöls chiefly attacks the thesis of Hans Delbrück and Egmont Zechlin that in 1890 Bismarck wanted to save his rule by establishing some sort of imperial anti-Socialist dictatorship. Bismarck's policy, it is true, contained so many possibilities that as long as one remains in the field of psychological speculation, the thesis Pöls rejects cannot be proved much better than the opposite one he suggests. Had he resorted to a comparative analysis derived from a knowledge of universal history, instead of working with methods largely borrowed from bygone times, he might have produced more tangible results. But this way of proceeding would presuppose more mature scholarship. Establishing himself without showing much qualification as arbiter between the said scholars, on the one side, and Arnold O. Meyer, Hans Rothfels, Wilhelm Schüssler, Adolf Rein, and Theodor Schieder on the other, and

frowning at "liberals" like Erich Eyck or independent thinkers like Franz Schnabel, he simply increases the literature on Bismarck by one more thesis which adds little of merit.
Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

JOHANNES POPITZ: ENTWICKLUNG UND WIRKSAMKEIT IN DER ZEIT DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Hildemarie Dieckmann*. [Studien zur europäischen Geschichte aus dem Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Volume IV.] (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1960. Pp. 157. DM 16.) Although born a Saxon subject, Johannes Popitz exemplified the Prussian tradition of drawing into the civil service many of the most gifted, creative, and wide-ranging minds of each generation. These qualities were frequently combined in an astonishing manner with the discharge of the most meticulous, complicated, and uninspiring functions chargeable to a bureaucracy. The career of Johannes Popitz, Germany's leading expert on taxation during the Weimar period, is the subject of Miss Dieckmann's excellent monograph. After taking his doctor of jurisprudence (*summa cum laude*), Popitz took his place on the first rung of the Prussian civil service, advancing rapidly in a span of ten years to the rank of *Ministerialdirektor*. In 1925 he achieved the highest grade in the service as State Secretary in the Reich Ministry of Finance. From 1919 to 1929 he headed or had under his jurisdiction the taxation division of the ministry, which administered the tax system and framed the basic tax laws and schedules. During World War I he established himself as the expert on the *Umsatzsteuer*, a wartime consumption levy which he broadened into a comprehensive turnover and transactions tax. Popitz also had a major role in the development of the revolutionary tax and fiscal measures sponsored by Erzberger in 1919, which transferred the most productive taxes from the *Länder* to the Reich, nationalized and unified the tax administration, and firmly established the Reich's "tax sovereignty." As State Secretary in 1925, Popitz was the principal architect of the new tax system established after the disastrous financial collapse of 1923. He wielded great power in budgetary, revenue, and fiscal affairs until 1929, when his resignation was forced by Schacht as a condition of Reichsbank support for the tottering government credit. After his resignation he served as chairman, secretary, and consultant to several committees and organizations studying constitutional and administrative reform. His reports were critical of the Weimar system, and this, in Miss Dieckmann's opinion, led him to welcome with reservations the advent of Hitler as a possible initiator of basic organizational reforms. This scholarly study does not deal with Popitz' role in the resistance, which cost him his life, but the monographic treatment of his career as a civil servant, jurist, and political scientist meets the best standards of objectivity, thoroughness, and expertness.

University of Virginia

ORON J. HALE

DIE NATIONALITÄTENFRAGE IM ALTEN UNGARN UND DIE SÜD-OSTPOLITIK WIENS. By *Friedrich Walter* and *Harold Steinacker*. [Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission, Volume III.] (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1959. Pp. 167. DM 9.) This valuable little volume comprises three essays on related but separate subjects. Friedrich Walter, perhaps the foremost authority on the administrative policies of Imperial Austria, offers an analysis of "Die Wiener Südostpolitik im Spiegel der Geschichte der zentralen Verwaltung" and a second study, "Von Windischgrätz über Welden zu Haynau. Wiener Regierung und Armee-Oberkommando in Ungarn 1849/50." Harold Steinacker, a distinguished student of the Empire's nationality problems, discusses "Das Wesen des magyarischen Nationalismus." Walter's first study concentrates on the zigzag course of the imperial administration in its deal-

ings with Hungary from the reconquest of the kingdom after the Turkish defeat in the 1680's to the Josephin policy of centralization a century later. Strangely, as long as the administration vacillated, seemingly quite irrationally, between limited recognition of the rights of Hungarian national groups and the demands of the Magyar Estates, affairs remained manageable. Only the charting of an uncompromising course of Hungarian centralism, not to be confounded with the cliché concept of imperial centralization and Germanization, led to disaster. His second essay offers much new and interesting source material on the military government of Windischgrätz, Welden and Haynau in the Hungary of 1849 and 1850. Particularly in the case of Haynau this leads to a correction of his character portrait only in so far as this hideous individual was perhaps a little less cruel but considerably more vain, insincere, and avaricious than is commonly assumed. As to Steinacker's contribution, he offers within very limited space a highly sophisticated and illuminating analysis of the evolution of the Magyar national character as far as it pertains to the nationality problems in Hungary. This outstanding contribution to a well-trodden subject is, moreover, not based on cheap "psychologizing" but on a solid command of the literature in the field.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

AMBASSADOR FROM VENICE: PIETRO PASQUALIGO IN LISBON, 1501. By *Donald Weinstein*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1960. Pp. 112. \$5.00.) Moslem enemies nearby in the Mediterranean and the route to India around the distant Cape of Good Hope—the diplomatic combination of these two themes would have been a challenge to the skill of any ambassador sent from Venice to Portugal in 1501. Twenty-nine-year-old Pietro Pasqualigo combined the themes so skillfully in the Latin oration with which he initiated his mission that it was published that same year. A copy of this edition is in the James Ford Bell Collection of the University of Minnesota Library. Its translation and a facsimile constitute the slender core around which Donald Weinstein has grouped substantial commentaries. Although more detail on some aspects may be found in Vitorino Magalhães-Godinho, "Le repli vénitien et égyptien et la route du cap," *Eventail de l'histoire vivante: Hommage à Lucien Febvre* (1953), Weinstein's chapters give a good picture of the political and economic situation in which Venice found herself in the opening decade of the sixteenth century. He also places those years in perspective, showing an appreciation of the newer view of Venetian history which emphasizes the continued prosperity of the city into the seventeenth century.

Johns Hopkins University

FREDERIC C. LANE

LA SCUOLA: DALLA LEGGE CASATI ALLA INCHIESTA DEL 1864. By *Giuseppe Talamo*. [L'Organizzazione dello Stato, Collana di studi e testi nel centenario dell'Unità, Number 7.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1960. Pp. vii, 420. L. 2,800.) L'UNIFICAZIONE LEGISLATIVA E I CODICI DEL 1865. By *Alberto Aquarone*. [L'Organizzazione dello Stato, Collana di studi e testi nel centenario dell'Unità, Number 4.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1960. Pp. viii, 480. L. 3,200.) BIBLIOGRAFIA DEI PERIODICI TOSCANI (1852-1864). By *Clementina Rotondi*. [Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, Number 36.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, Editore. 1960. Pp. 156.) To commemorate the centenary of Italian unity, the *Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano* is sponsoring a series of studies on the organization of the Italian state, under the editorship of Professor Alberto M. Ghisalberti. The planned eleven volumes will deal with the development and function of such vital manifestations of national life as parliament, public finances, diplomacy and the ministry of foreign affairs, and Church-state relations. The first two volumes to appear (actually numbers four and seven of the series) discuss legislative unification and the code of 1865, and public

education from Minister of Education Casati's law of 1859 to the investigation of 1864 on school conditions in Italy. In both, the respective editors have prefaced a judicious collection of contemporary documents (laws, edicts, reports, excerpts from pertinent parliamentary debates and investigations, newspaper articles, statistics) with informative essays on the topic, discussing the problems faced by the new state in its efforts to create unity from disparity. Unequal levels of cultural, social, and economic development, different legal processes, and separatist tendencies, as well as the political struggles in the new parliament, raised problems still awaiting, in many instances, satisfactory solution. Turning to another aspect of Italian activity in the 1850's and 1860's, Dr. Rotondi continues her bibliographical analysis of the Tuscan press, begun in an earlier work covering the years 1847-1852 and published in 1952. A third volume will survey the years when Florence was capital of Italy. Dr. Rotondi has done her research in archives and libraries throughout Tuscany and has compiled a useful guide to the periodical press of that region during an important period in Italian history.

Regis College

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

THE FIRST RUSSIAN RADICAL: ALEXANDER RADISHCHEV, 1749-1802. By *David Marshall Lang*. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1959. Pp. 298. 35s.) In the history of Russia's struggle for freedom of publication and protest against the institution of serfdom, the name of Alexander Radishchev is eminently symbolic. His *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* appeared in 1790, and its publication was entirely due to official negligence and failure to realize its social implication. When Catherine II read the book, she concluded that its author was a dangerous Mason and Jacobin. Though Radishchev hastily recanted, it helped little to mitigate his sentence: he was sent to Siberia, and his return to the capital was assured only by the whimsical Paul I some six years later. Here Radishchev was soon disheartened by the bureaucratic inefficiency; despaired by administrative incapacity to put into effect needed reforms, he committed suicide in 1802. Today Radishchev's *Journey* is valued more as a historic document than as a literary treasure. Written in the characteristic stilted style of his age, the *Journey* today is read in the modern version, seldom in the original. Pushkin had not yet appeared on the scene to add grace and plasticity to the Russian language. If Radishchev's *Journey* became a linguistic landmark in the protracted struggle for justice, politically and socially the work constituted a pioneering effort "at the top" to lift the unbearable burden of serfdom from the peasantry's back. To English readers, parts of the *Journey* are already familiar from other writings, but the tragic figure of its author was much less known abroad. Dr. Lang now adds for the first time a lengthy biography in which he sketches a broad picture of the political and social environment of the end of the eighteenth century and the spirit of the period. The work is accompanied by an adequate bibliography of Russian and foreign sources. A few weeks before Radishchev died he wrote despairingly: "Posterity will avenge me!" Indeed it did, and with a fury that very likely would have frightened the prophet himself. Lang concludes that from Radishchev to Pasternak stretches a line of writers victimized by official intolerance. The account of the tragic figure of Radishchev is admirably presented, and the general thesis awakens a melancholy contemplation over the fate of a legion of literary martyrs who have fallen by the wayside on the road to human freedom.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

NEAR EAST

OTTOMAN DOCUMENTS ON PALESTINE, 1552-1615: A STUDY OF THE FIRMAN ACCORDING TO THE MÜHİMME DEFTERİ. By *Uriel Heyd*. (New

York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xvii, 204, 17 plates.) When a definitive Ottoman history is written, much of it will have to be based on the sort of records presented here. Some documents from the Ottoman archives (principally the Başvekkâlet Arşivi, the Prime Minister's Office Archives, in effect the central state archives) have already been published by Turkish, English, Yugoslav, and other scholars. In these archives Dr. Heyd has combed the Mühimme Defteri (Register of Important Affairs, chiefly instructions from the sultan's government to Ottoman officials) for documents relating to the area of Palestine in the period from the end of Süleyman I's reign through that of Ahmed I. In so doing he provides information not only on conditions in that part of the Damascus province extending from Safad south to al-'Arish, but also on Ottoman administrative practices in general. Heyd's introduction on the drafting, issuance, and registry of imperial firmans is careful and enlightening. Three-fourths of the book is devoted to English translations of, or summaries of, documents concerning administrative officials and relationships, fiefs, the suppression of rebellions and of nomads, taxation, Christian and Moslem holy places, Jews, wakf, and the like. The record more often reveals complaints about abuses, what has not been done, and what is ordered to be done, than what actually has been done. "You have done well" seems to occur only once. The general impression may be slightly lopsided, since good order and smooth government inevitably produce fewer documents, and those here given represent policy made "on the cables," in response to specific letters and petitions from the area. Yet the cracks in Ottoman administration were showing. Heyd supplies copious notes, cross references, succinct introductions, careful indexes, and photostats of thirty-seven documents in a work of meticulous scholarship.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

INDEPENDENT IRAQ, 1932-1958: A STUDY IN IRAQI POLITICS. By *Majid Khadduri*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (2d ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 388. \$7.20.) Iraq was the first Arab Ottoman successor state to attain legal independence and to suffer government by recurrent military coups. This book, a revision of one first published in 1951, is primarily an account of Iraqi internal politics since 1932; supplementing the basic narrative are two chapters on constitutional development and foreign affairs. The new edition extends the account to 1954, whereas the first edition, whose terminus was 1948, concentrated on events before 1941. Khadduri has also provided a chapter that briefly surveys the activities of the Iraqi Development Board and the Communist movement in Iraq. Besides enlarging the book, the author has also revised the sections dealing with the events of 1939-1941 in the light of the German documents and new Arab memoirs. In seeking an explanation for the recurrent political crises and the frequent resort to violence, Khadduri is still inclined to single out the antiliberal methods of the elder politicians and their failure to respond to the social needs of the people. Such attitudes on the part of the elder politicians resulted in a conflict with the new generation that "is perhaps at the root of the cyclical changes that have been taking place during the past two decades." Yet, as Khadduri recognizes, and as his narrative shows repeatedly, the rivalries of elder politicians with each other was an element in every change of government. Only once, in 1948, was there a change of government that might ostensibly be regarded as the result of a popular rising. In this case, however, the failure of the elder politicians to agree to the suppression of the demonstrations was perhaps as significant as the demonstrations themselves. The emphasis on the sins of the oligarchy obscures the great importance of foreign policy as an element in Iraqi politics, as does the treatment of foreign affairs in a separate chapter. Whatever the sources of internal conflicts in Iraq, such conflicts have usually been presented as disputes over foreign

policy. The book is a rarity, a study in modern Arab political history that is both sufficiently detailed and adequately documented. Khadduri's scholarship is admirable. He has utilized a great range of Western and Arab sources, published and unpublished, including personal interviews with most of the leading actors. From these he has constructed a judicious and balanced narrative. This revision, like the first edition, is one of the very small number of books on modern Arab affairs that are genuine and lasting contributions to the literature.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

FAR EAST

INDIA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE EAST. By *Bhasker Anand Salefore*. (Bombay: Popular Book Depot. 1960. Pp. xvi, 524. Rs. 30.) Dr. Salefore is the retired director of the National Archives of the Government of India and is professor of ancient Indian history and culture in the University of Karnatak. He regards his present book as a sequel to his *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*. He emphasizes the relations between India and China. To "diplomatic relations" he gives a very comprehensive connotation and includes not only those which were purely political but also those which were concerned with commerce and religion. Indeed, many of the contacts he describes were primarily related to Buddhism and its transmission to China. He comes to his story from an Indian standpoint. He endeavors to determine which of the embassies described in Chinese histories are authentic. Some, he believes, are fictional, and others he regards as substantiated by Indian sources. In general he seeks to show that for over a thousand years good will existed between the rulers and scholars of China and India. The time range covered is from the Former Han, in the first century B.C., to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty in the latter part of the thirteenth century. The book's chief value lies in its comprehensive coverage of the period chosen, in an extensive examination of the Indian side of the story, in the identification of the Indian names, both of places and individuals, which occur in the Chinese narratives, and in the extensive notes, with their critical comments on the authors consulted. A major weakness is in the notes and bibliography. The author has depended predominantly on materials in English with the addition of a few in French and German. He has seldom gone directly to the sources in the original languages. Moreover, he has consulted few recent books and articles and has depended primarily on older works. Here his selection is, in general, excellent, and, for his purpose, fairly adequate. Salefore is inclined to emphasize the contributions of India to China. He maintains that the Indians and Chinese knew of each other in the fourth century B.C.—a judgment in which, as he recognizes, few experts on China would concur. Nor would the latter agree with him in his assumption of a Western origin of the Chinese. Unfortunately the book has more than the usual quota of typographical errors, especially in Chinese names. A closer acquaintance with Chinese history could have saved the author some mistakes, most of them, fortunately, not important for his main purpose.

Yale University

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

BIOGRAPHY OF LÜ KUANG. Translated and annotated by *Richard B. Mather*. [East Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California: Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, Number 7.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. 141. \$3.00.) The biographical sketch of Lü Kuang (A.D. 338–400), which Professor Mather of the University of Minnesota has translated, illuminates the period of political unrest that characterized northern China in the fifth and sixth centuries. Fu-chien (337–385), an ambitious overlord who ruled most of northern China from

his capital at Ch'ang-an, conceived the idea of bringing southern China likewise under his sway. While he set out on an expedition to the southeast, he commissioned Lü Kuang, the subject of this sketch, to subdue the non-Chinese populations in the vast regions now known as Chinese Turkestan. Because of disaffection and intrigue, both expeditions failed. The specific causes are set forth in Mather's careful translation and in his well-reasoned and fully documented comments. His identifications of ancient Chinese place names in the region of the Tarim Basin are exhibited in two insert maps which merit the attention of students of historical geography. Incidentally, it was under the auspices of Lü Kuang and Fu-chien that the eminent Central Asian scholar Kumārajīva came to Ch'ang-an in 401 to translate Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese. His collaboration with Chinese scholars gave this long-term enterprise an impetus, a technique, and a precision it previously lacked.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

JUSTICE AND POLICE IN BENGAL, 1765-1793: A STUDY OF THE NIZAMAT IN DECLINE. By N. Majumdar. Foreword by N. K. Sinha. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1960. Pp. xiii, 351. Rs. 15.) The growth of British power in India was by no means as haphazard or mysterious as some romantic historians would have us believe. Professor Majumdar's study of the decline of Moslem justice under the Nizamat in late eighteenth-century Bengal is a masterful analysis of the expansion of the company's authority under the Diwani of Bengal into the realm of justice that, legitimately, was in the hands of the Nazim, the Mogul emperor's representative in Bengal. Step by step, as values in justice clashed and as revenue collection and administration demanded control of law and order, the regimes of Warren Hastings and then of Lord Cornwallis absorbed judicial administration into the company's domain. Miss Majumdar has examined the broader theme of rising British and rapidly decaying Mogul powers in the tight research framework of the Nizamat in decline, and for the period 1765 to 1793. This restriction in scope permits her to delve deeply into archival records and to explore her subject with the detail that so often has been lacking for this period. Considering the theme, however, greater attention to contemporary theories of Moslem justice might well have been included, particularly since, in criticism of such justice in practice, Professor Majumdar need only cite the record for repeated episodes of mismanagement and corruption. This book is one of the products of the "new history" of India that is developing in the hands of the best of the younger historians in that country. Attention to detail and to primary sources is strict. While hard reliance on the record is maintained, the writing has a certain sparkle and wit not usually found in such studies. Most important, the historian's eye looks inward for an explanation of the Indian scene, and not only to the record of British views of alien landscapes.

University of Michigan

RICHARD L. PARK

INDIA WINS FREEDOM: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE. By Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. With introduction and explanatory notes by Louis Fischer. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1960. Pp. xxiv, 293. \$6.00.) A kind of pathos pervades Maulana Azad's autobiographical narrative *India Wins Freedom*. Azad was the outstanding Moslem statesman within the Congress party, and he inspired much of the Moslem contribution to the independence movement. Yet his hope for a united, independent India was unfulfilled. Partition became the goal of his coreligionists. One might wish that Azad had explained why Jinnah and the Moslem League rather than Azad and the Congress gained Moslem allegiance. *India Wins Freedom* unquestionably is an important and moving account of the mind and political methods of a

close associate of Gandhi and Nehru. Azad relates his personal role in the independence movement until the final misfortunes of partition, communal massacres, and the assassination of Gandhi. Without bitterness or recrimination, he suggests some reasons for the failure of unity. He criticizes Gandhi for having contributed to Jinnah's prestige. He considers that Nehru's press conference of July 10, 1946, brought the collapse of the Cabinet Mission's scheme for a united, federated India; for Jinnah used Nehru's speculative reservations about the scheme as justification for his repudiation of the mission. V. P. Menon's *The Transfer of Power in India* (1957) largely absolves Gandhi and Nehru. Azad overestimated the possibility of agreement between Congress and the league. He misunderstood Jinnah, whose advocacy of Pakistan was not merely political tactics but an inflexible goal and power aspiration. Azad had achieved good relations with all religious groups, for he was a man of understanding and humanity, and he could justifiably have expected the Moslems to attain their rights and welfare within a united India. But Azad did not convince his coreligionists of this statesmanship, and he lacked the intransigence and organization with which Jinnah won the Moslem community. Such was the pathos of the conciliator, whose methods and temper of mind prevented him from competing successfully with the extremists.

Bowdoin College GEORGE D. BEARCE

UNITED STATES

AMERICA AND THE IMAGE OF EUROPE: REFLECTIONS ON AMERICAN THOUGHT. By *Daniel J. Boorstin*. (New York: Meridian Books. 1960. Pp. 192. Cloth \$3.00, paper \$1.35.) Most of these eight essays have appeared in scholarly journals, but their collection in a single volume is a service to students of American culture. Although they do not present a consecutive argument, all are concerned with an approach to the definition of American culture. The title essay, "The Place of Thought in American Life," "The Myth of an American Enlightenment," and the foreword are of particular interest to American historians. The title essay examines the polarity, assumed by Americans in search of their own uniqueness, between their culture and what they conceive to be its antithesis, a vague and undefined concept of Europe. This is aptly described as a relationship with "all the attractions and repulsions of Oedipus." The nineteenth-century American considered himself a "happy deviant from an ancient European norm." Since 1914 the American has come to think of his country as a model for a new Europe, and has finally begun to differentiate realistically among the many Europes. Professor Boorstin concludes the essay with the fear that the breakdown of the old polarity is a disintegration in content but not in form. The older European-American antithesis is being replaced in the minds of Americans with an equally crude but more dangerous stereotype: "whereas formerly we were a non-Europe now we have become a kind of noncommunism." One must be grateful to Boorstin for his exploration of the naïve polarities in which Americans sought their own image. But to describe the higher learning as largely concerned with European culture is not necessarily an indication of overdependence on Europe. When Matthew Josephson in his *Portrait of the Artist as an American* chooses as his motto Melville's phrase "I feel like an exile here," this need not be an expression of "the impossible hope that Europe might be reborn in America," but a realistic evaluation of the position of the artist in America. "The Place of Thought in American Life" develops the idea that American culture is unique in its homogeneity, lacking a distinction between high and popular culture. As evidence Boorstin cites the democratization of higher education in America both in constituency and curriculum. In spite of the popular disapproval of an intellectual elite, one wonders if this is sufficient evidence to disprove the existence

of such a group. He sees American intellectual life as thoroughly pragmatic in substance, drawing its vitality from greater interest in institutions than in ideologies. He points out that the vastness of our material resources allowed experimentation and created "a wholesome unconcern for material things in themselves." Such optimism is attractive but it is conceivable that the single-minded pursuit of ways of creating material goods is no more wholesome than an attachment to the goods produced. In an age when the social scientist is prone to lose the individual in the statistical table, "The Myth of the American Enlightenment" reminds the historian that it is his function to preserve the uniqueness and the rich particularity of each historical event. It cautions historians against the tendency "to homogenize experience, to empty each age of its vintage flavor in order to provide ever larger receptacles into which we can pour an insipid liquor of our own making." On the whole these essays are provocative, imaginative, and beautifully written.

New York City

RUTH MILLER ELSON

AMERICA IN THE MODERN WORLD. By D. W. Brogan. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. 117. \$3.00.) There is probably no transatlantic scholar who knows more about the United States than Professor Brogan. There is no one, either, who is at heart more sympathetic and understanding. It is therefore particularly interesting to find him writing a series of lectures which, despite their friendly tone, address some needed warnings to our compatriots. One of Brogan's large points is that we are not going to live in a world that is going our way, that we can have no assurance of the applicability of our political and economic system to the societies now emerging from tutelage or inertia. There is, he suggests, no certainty that democracy is the proper form of government for all peoples or that what we describe (inaccurately) as a "free enterprise" economic system will meet the needs of every nation. In connection with his argument on these matters, Brogan pays a tribute to the quality of the American entrepreneur that is worth reflecting on. Businessmen, like the rest of us, have characteristic limitations, but their role in the construction of our society has been too much denigrated. The second point worth stressing is the author's emphasis on the need for excellence. Our educational system, he believes, pays far too little attention to the gifted, both at the secondary and the university level. We pay a price, he thinks, for the immense reach and variety of our educational machine, and we value too little the great achievements in science or literature. I add one other sentence to this review, completely irrelevant to the above, but especially interesting to me, as chairman of the American Historical Association's Committee on Graduate Education. "You may demand 'publication,' 'research,' but you can't . . . effectively demand *original* research and *worth while* publication. You can only be glad when you have got them." The italics are mine.

Rochester, New York

DEXTER PERKINS

THE BURDEN OF SOUTHERN HISTORY. By C. Vann Woodward. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 205. \$3.50.) In this volume of eight essays, Vann Woodward attempts to understand and explain the distinctive heritage and character of the South by means of selective aspects of the region's experience. In the first essay, "The Search for Southern Identity," he rejects as inadequate such previous explanations of the South's distinctiveness as climate, the agrarian way of life, and the determination to keep the South a white man's country. He finds that the South can be explained best in terms of the "collective experience of the Southern people," an experience which has differed from that of the nation in many important respects. The second essay, "The Historical Dimension," stresses the im-

portance for the historian of the southern literary renaissance of the 1930's and especially the writer's consciousness of the past in the present. Woodward then proceeds in the following six essays to employ this "sense of history" to give meaning and value to the region's history. The reader will recognize in several of the essays such familiar themes as the slavery controversy, civil and political rights of Negroes, and Populism of the 1890's. Although these subjects may be familiar ones, Woodward's treatment is so original and perceptive as to make them essentially new explanations of the southern heritage. The concluding essay, Woodward's notable "The Irony of Southern History," emphasizes that the South has been at once a participant in and an observer of American history. Unlike the remainder of the nation, the South has suffered frustration and defeat, whereas the nation at large has been spared from the forces of history and seemingly has been a continuous success. Thus he concludes that America with her terrible power, illusions of innocence, and legend of immunity from defeat "desperately needs criticism from historians . . . who can penetrate the legend without destroying the ideal, who can dispel the illusion of pretended virtue without denying the genuine virtues." Certainly no southern historian has contributed more to an understanding of southern history than Woodward. In these essays, with penetrating thought, humane spirit, and deftness of style, he comes nearer to getting at the essence of the southern heritage than countless previous volumes on the region's history. Historians and laymen alike will derive from these essays a deeper sense of the complexity and poignancy of the southern story.

University of North Carolina

J. CARLYLE SITTERSON

EDWARD RANDOLPH AND THE AMERICAN COLONIES, 1676-1703. By *Michael Garibaldi Hall*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1960. Pp. xi, 241. \$5.00.) This is a capital book. In writing it, Mr. Hall must have had many problems with source materials both collected and uncollected, a subject both unpopular and neglected, and the need to make the difficult topic of administrative history both important and interesting. Some fifty years ago the Prince Society brought out the Toppan and Goodrick collection of Randolph papers, and ever since scholars have shied away from Randolph. But their seven volumes did not deter Hall, who was aware of both their virtues and their deficiencies and whose research began rather than ended there. His subject is the notorious Edward Randolph (1632-1703), British agent in the New World for the last quarter of the seventeenth century and a man hated here for most of that time. The author's picture of this individual, despised almost as much in our time as in his own, is full and fair. His decision to focus on Randolph's active years was correct, even if it made his book administrative history rather than biography, for this is administrative history of the best sort. Too often this kind of thing becomes only a record of legislation passed or of judgments rendered. Not so here. In Hall's hands it is fascinating and exciting. The sum total, then, is a study that is the best kind of contribution to knowledge, a scholar's reasoned distillation of his materials in the form of a judicious and impartial study. The publication of this book for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, where Hall (now of the University of Texas history faculty) was once a fellow, is as much a compliment to the institute as it is to the author.

Massachusetts Historical Society

MALCOLM FREIBERG

FORTUNE'S MERRY WHEEL: THE LOTTERY IN AMERICA. By *John Samuel Ezell*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 331. \$6.75.) Any American can cite some college hall or church built from funds raised through a lottery but here his information promptly stops. It is strange that a subject which

obviously has so much popular interest and has played so large a part in American life should not until now have received the full-scale attention it clearly deserves. This attractive volume fills that need. After some brief background material there follows a discussion of lotteries in the colonial and revolutionary periods. A comprehensive account continues their development, as aids to government, for private advantage, and for building canals, roads, bridges, schools, and churches before the Civil War. Concluding chapters trace their decline and fall at the end of the nineteenth century. So detailed is the material that the work is almost encyclopedic in character. Indeed it hardly seems possible that any lottery ever held in the United States escaped the author's attention. So definitive is this study that no one who cares to know about lotteries in America can ignore this book, and so adequate is its scholarship that it appears the subject will never have to be done again. It may be that the merits of the book imply its defects. The subject matter is so entertaining, the title so attractive, that one might reasonably have looked for greater readability. Yet even with the closest attention, the most indefatigable of readers would find his enthusiasm waning as he moves through this mass of detail. There are lifesaving lists of the various lotteries; the discussion of them, nevertheless, leaves the general view blurred and confused. Ezell is clearly aware that these lotteries moved in a definite social and economic setting and from time to time endeavors to point out what it was. It is only a partly convincing effort. The description of what happened is done with such excellence that it but points up the meagerness of the why and how. For the general reader, indeed for almost any reader, the last chapter will prove the most interesting and valuable. Here in a well-written, brief summary the author synthesizes much of his historical material and the various attitudes with which from time to time it has been regarded. Just a century ago no ethical problem was involved concerning lotteries in most men's minds, and so in the present work the author has engaged in no moral polemics. Complete objectivity marks every page, and if this book is no great contribution to literature it is an outstanding model of historical research.

Boston University

W. S. TRYON

PETER KALM'S NORTH AMERICAN JOURNEY: ITS IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND AND RESULTS. By *Martti Kerkkonen*. [Studia Historica, Volume I.] (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society. 1959. Pp. 260. \$3.50.) Peter Kalm's North American journey (1748-1751) turned out to be partly a scientific inquiry and partly a one-man technical assistance program. Undertaken with eminent scientific backing (Linnaeus was a strong supporter) and covered financially by funds from public institutions, it was devoted to an investigation of plant life in colonial America in order to select species suitable for transplanting to Sweden and Finland and the improvement of the economy of these northern lands. Kerkkonen's study analyzes first the ideological background and then the results of this journey. Its portrayal of these is clear and definite. The direct practical results were modest enough, the seeds of several hundred species were brought home, but only a small number were grown to economic advantage in the northern latitudes, though others proved useful in further study. As students of eighteenth-century American travel accounts will know, there was another side to Kalm's reporting, growing out of his extended notes and comments on political, social, and everyday aspects of life. French officials in Canada, he felt, welcomed him with more warmth than did their British counterparts. Kalm spent his winters mainly among the Swedish-Finnish settlers along the Delaware; among these he found the forest Finns of central Sweden well represented. For the settlers of New Sweden he thought that an earlier familiarity with a northern forest terrain had facilitated adjustment to conditions later encountered on the Delaware shores. Moving about in different levels of

colonial society he encountered from time to time the opinion that before many decades these colonies would be independent of Britain. He was impressed by the libertarian aspects of colonial society. To what degree the conceptions of American colonial society prevailing among Kalm's countrymen were confirmed or modified by his work is a matter on which Kerkkonen attempts no consistent estimate. That his journey had some ideological as well as practical consequences, however, is made clear enough. Under Kalm's professorial direction at Åbo at least half a dozen students prepared theses on particular social practices or improved economic techniques in the colonies. Kerkkonen's study is well placed in the Atlantic setting of the eighteenth century. He is familiar with the growing body of studies such as those by Chinard, Atkinson, and Hazard on overseas aspects of that century's cultural history. His portrayal of Kalm's experiences as scientist, traveler, writer, and pedagogue is conscientious and couched at times in warm human terms. This volume (deserving closer proofreading than it had) is issued under the auspices of the Finnish Historical Society. It is planned as the first of a series on subjects in Finnish history relating to an international context.

New York University OSCAR J. FALNES

THE COMING OF WAR: AN ACCOUNT OF THE REMARKABLE EVENTS LEADING TO THE WAR OF 1812. By *Albert Z. Carr*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1960. Pp. 383. \$4.95.) "The thesis here is that the coming of the War of 1812 is best understood by putting aside the concept of 'cause', in the familiar sense of motive, and recognizing a dynamic process of causation, which stems from changes in the power aggregates of the nations concerned." Surveying Anglo-American relations from the treaty making of 1782 to the outbreak of war in 1812, Mr. Carr concludes that in the earlier crises the diplomats on both sides were perceptive enough to recognize the "changes in the power aggregates" and flexible enough to adjust to them, whereas in 1810-1812, with leadership in the hands of "the narrow, stubborn Perceval and the overintellectualized and uncertain Madison," diplomacy "became inadequate to preserve peace." In his concluding section, "On the Coming of War," Carr undertakes both to generalize this thesis and to apply it to the contemporary international scene, suggesting that the preservation of peace today depends more upon the capacity to recognize and adjust to changes in power aggregates than statesmen and diplomats have yet shown. Some readers may find here a disturbing assumption that the cold war is as susceptible to settlement by compromise and adjustment as were the Anglo-American disagreements of 1782 to 1812. The bulk of the book retells the story of the diplomacy of that thirty-year period, and about 150 pages deal with the immediate background of the War of 1812. Here, it seems to me, Carr accepts too uncritically several theories as to the "motives" of the war without being aware of the rather extensive debates to which they have given rise. His bibliography includes the appropriate volume of Irving Brant's *Madison*, but his text shows no familiarity with Brant's interpretation of Madison's role in bringing on the war. The book is skillful in character portrayal and dramatic narrative. Historical scholars will regret the omission of specific source citations.

Wells College

JULIUS W. PRATT

THE FIRST FRENCH EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA: LAPÉROUSE IN 1786. Translated, with introduction and notes by *Charles N. Rudkin*. [Early California Travels Series, Number 46.] (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson. 1959. Pp. 145. \$7.50.) The extant journals of Lapérouse on his global voyage for Louis XVI from 1785 to 1788 have been published frequently, but this new edition makes readily available all of those portions dealing with Lapérouse's visit to California in 1786, together with letters and other reports from the same expedition. The translation is good, communicating the emotion

that the men felt as they inhaled the stench of whales in Monterey Bay. Lapérouse's interpretations of the Spanish colony are clearly French: Viscaino is emphasized, Cabrillo and De Anza are ignored, and the commander, in his own words, "a friend of the rights of man," lets the French Enlightenment color his extensive comments on the missions, which he describes in terms of slavery. Yet he tries to be fair, and, as in his surgeon's monograph on the California Indians, the details are fascinating. The book, like all in this series, is handsomely printed.

University of California, Riverside

ROBERT V. HINE

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Louis Martin Sears*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 378. \$7.00.) Louis M. Sears, who taught at Purdue University, adds to his earlier studies in American diplomacy a detailed examination of Washington's reactions to the French Revolution as reported to him by such observers as Short, Morris, Monroe, and Lafayette. Concluding that Washington was himself a keen observer of the contemporary world and one who viewed the Revolution with a completeness denied to those immediately concerned, Sears clearly demonstrates that the President changed his attitude considerably from 1787 to 1799. He met the early news from Paris with enthusiasm, grew increasingly cool toward the Revolution, and ended his days in outright opposition to the great cataclysm. The author summarizes his findings this way: "A calm, judicious mind, fed by incontestable facts, formed intelligent opinions. That in brief was Washington's reaction to the French Revolution." Source material is drawn from the archives of the Department of State, the Archives of the State Department of France (though there seems to be but one reference to the French archives in the footnotes), and from a long list of published manuscripts and secondary works. In a prefatory note to the bibliography Sears admits to a controversial limitation, "the slight use of strictly Federalist materials, which usually were pro-English or anti-French. . . ." Federalist sources and particularly Hamiltonian sources should not have been ignored; there is too little of George Washington in the book; it seems unnecessary to write a short history of the Revolution in order to discuss Washington's reaction to it; the subjects that might have been explored with the possibility of adding to knowledge have been passed over too lightly, for instance, the dismissal of Randolph, the recall of Monroe, and the Farewell Address. It is stated that the farewell summarized the totality of Washington's experience with the French Revolution, but that lengthy attention to it would be "superfluous." There is also a questionable tendency to editorialize: "Hébert, a cringing and groveling wretch," "Jefferson in this estimate of his old enemy was certainly running true to form."

Wabash College

STEPHEN G. KURTZ

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AMONG NORWEGIAN-AMERICANS: A HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH. Volume I, 1825-1890, by *E. Clifford Nelson* and *Eugene L. Fevold*; Volume II, 1890-1959, by *E. Clifford Nelson*. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House. 1960. Pp. xix, 357; xix, 379. \$12.50 the set.) The recent union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, formerly the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, with synods of German and Danish origin to form the American Lutheran Church provides an ideal occasion for the publication of a history of Norwegian Lutheranism in America. E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold have produced such a history written in a clear and readable style. An undertaking of this kind requires that the historian utilize enormous quantities of foreign-language sources made greater by the controversies that characterized Norwegian-American Lutheranism after 1860. It demands an understanding of European backgrounds,

American developments, and the problems of immigrant adaptation and contribution. Furthermore, it calls for a sympathetic approach to church history coupled with rare scholarly detachment. The two authors have measured up to this impossible task in the first volume, and Nelson has given a singular example of "controlled involvement" in the second. Praise is also due the authors for their research in areas of church work that could easily have been ignored by less conscientious students. One could argue that the chief sources used in these volumes have tended to produce doctrinal or ecclesiastical interpretations of movements and sentiments that were often nationalistic or broadly sociological in nature. It is possible to read into much nineteenth-century American theological controversy drives and urgings that in the homeland were expressed in the arenas of class conflict, domestic politics, and contention with Sweden, and were, in fact, prime movers in emigration. The Norwegian immigrant in America continued his assertiveness within the institutions that bound him to his countrymen, notably the church and the foreign-language press. He also fought with the weapons he found conveniently at hand, and often these were theological. In this history some attention is given to the yeasty tendencies inherent in immigrant life, but rarely are they brought sharply into focus. The result is a picture of a church apparently without living members. Many will rejoice, nevertheless, that at last they have at hand a sympathetic and competent review of the events and agreements that created the Evangelical Lutheran Church and later merged it with other groups in the American Lutheran Church.

St. Olaf College

KENNETH O. BJORK

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY IN MISSISSIPPI. By *Edwin Arthur Miles*. [James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XLII.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1960. Pp. 192. \$2.50.) This is another excellent study of Jacksonian politics in an individual state, to go with William S. Hoffmann's recent monograph on North Carolina, Charles M. Snyder's on Pennsylvania, and Arthur B. Darling's older monograph on Massachusetts. Given the "pluralistic localism" of our early political system (the apt phrase is Professor Fulmer Mood's), much of our confusion about early American politics must be attributed to the lack or poor quality of such studies. Professor Miles's study is a model, then, of what must be considered almost a new genre of sophisticated and thoroughly researched state studies. It illustrates the rewards of digging deeply into the newspapers and, especially, the political correspondence of the period. It is based on an awareness of the complicated currents of national politics, coupled with a complete understanding of the purely local issues. It conveys the savor and importance of individual personalities without neglecting the impersonal factors of sectional differences and economic interests. It is written in good historical prose, clear, crisp, and occasionally humorous. If Miles leaves unsaid anything important about his subject, and one hesitates to call this a weakness, it is the bearing of his findings on our understanding of Jacksonian politics as a general phenomenon. He shows, for example, that the state banks in Mississippi favored recharter of the national bank, a fact that calls into question some widely entertained (and I think erroneous) views about the nature of the Jacksonian assault on "the Monster of Chestnut Street." He also shows that the really formidable opposition to Jackson arose in Mississippi, as it did in most places, only with the removal of the federal deposits from the national bank, a fact that is little appreciated and still less explained in the general accounts. And he illustrates for Mississippi the insufficiently understood importance of hard money sentiment and efforts at bank reform in the state politics of the late 1830's and early 1840's. This is "old-fashioned political history," to be sure, but all who recognize the peculiar

capacity of political history to get at the central tendencies of a society will rejoice at a brand of political history that is considerably richer and more comprehensive than the old days commonly knew.

University of California, Berkeley

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR.

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XXV, THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, 1834-1839. Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. [National Archives Publication Number 61-4.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. v, 790. \$6.00.) The administrations of Governors John H. Eaton (1834-1836) and R. K. Call (1836-1839) are covered in this fourth volume of the *Territorial Papers of Florida*. As usual, preference is given to documents relating to civil matters rather than to Indian affairs and military operations. Though the records of military events of the war have been fairly extensively treated in documents published elsewhere (see the excellent bibliographical footnote twenty-seven, pages 100-101), much of this volume concerns matters growing out of the Seminole War, which absorbed so much local and national attention in those years. Call's defense of his futile effort to rid the territory of the Indians and the several accounts by General Thomas S. Jesup of his frustrating efforts in the same cause are perhaps of greatest interest. Jesup used a combination of negotiation, persuasion, and military pressure and shocked the national conscience by rounding up several hundred of the Indians who had gathered at Fort Jupiter under a flag of truce. The white settlers' repeated proposal of armed occupation to contain the Indians in a limited area and force them to migrate eventually (a policy finally adopted in 1842) is also prominent. The problem of locating and validating land claims from the Spanish period still caused delays and confusion in the disposal of public lands. Requests for federal aid for internal improvements took a new turn with land grant petitions for railroad rights of way. The growing movement for statehood produced two petitions from East Florida, one with some eight hundred signers requesting that the territory be divided into two states, and another with nearly six hundred signers requesting separate territorial status for East Florida. Aside from revealing sectional attitudes, these lists provide an excellent checklist of family names in the region.

University of Miami

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

COMMODORE MOORE AND THE TEXAS NAVY. By *Tom Henderson Wells*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1960. Pp. 218. \$4.75.) The first Texas navy came into being in January 1836 with the purchase of four small schooners. It lasted until the middle of 1837 and played a minor role in Texas' struggle for independence. When Mexico threatened to renew the war against her former province in 1839, the Texas Congress authorized the purchase of seven war vessels. President Lamar appointed a former lieutenant of the United States Navy, twenty-nine-year-old Edwin Ward Moore, commodore of the new fleet. This book, written by a recently retired naval officer, concerns the frustrating struggles of Commodore Moore to maintain the second navy against political intrigue, poverty, ineptness, disease, storms, and enemy gunfire. The archvillain is Sam Houston, and the narrative involves his historic feud with the ambitious young commodore. Moore's actions frequently are admirable, but at times highly irregular and insubordinate. The author manages to gloss over the latter while marshaling facts and opinions to vilify the opposition. Houston is contemptuously referred to as "that master of chicanery" and flatly charged with designs "to make himself military dictator of Texas." The feud centers on President Lamar's scheme to keep the Texas navy afloat by leasing its services to Yucatan in its struggle for independence. Such action complicates the story of Sam Houston, Lamar's successor (1841-1844), and his

efforts to effect an armistice with Mexico and thus save Texas from another costly war. Old Sam's conduct is not always direct and honorable. But in his zeal to exonerate the commodore and to prove that his naval "victories" saved Texas from reconquest, the author virtually dismisses Houston's diplomatic and political adroitness in bringing peace to the embryonic republic and eventual annexation to the United States. *Commodore Moore and the Texas Navy* is the first intensive work on the subject since Jim Dan Hill's *The Texas Navy in Forgotten Battles and Shirtsleeve Diplomacy* (1937). The story is both fascinating and confusing. Discerning readers will wonder if its principal characters are as completely black or white as pictured.

University of Oklahoma

W. EUGENE HOLLON

THE MOVEMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA. By *Aubert J. Clark, O.F.M. Conv.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 215. \$3.50.) This book traces the movement for international copyright in the United States from the first petition presented to Congress by Senator Henry Clay in 1836 to the passage of the first federal act, the Platt-Simmonds Act, in 1891. It seeks to explain why the United States lagged behind other nations of the West in the legal protection given to literary and artistic property through international copyright laws. The lack of copyright protection, explains the author, accounts in part for the backwardness of American literature during the nineteenth century and its tendency to ape English models. In his opinion it even "helped to dictate such matters of form as length of chapters and occurrence of climaxes, as well as the fondness for the short story." The struggle to secure adequate copyright legislation has been a neglected phase of our literary history. It involved the complicated interplay of interests of authors, readers, and publishers. Its champions included such great names in American literature as Mark Twain, James Russell Lowell, Richard Watson Gilder, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Francis Parkman, and John Greenleaf Whittier, in addition to such outstanding publishers as George Haven Putnam, William H. Appleton, Charles Scribner, Richard R. Bowker, Joseph W. Harper, Henry O. Houghton, Henry Holt, Craig Lippincott, and even the Reverend Isaac K. Funk, founder of Funk & Wagnall's, who, though a clergyman, began his business career by pirating a life of our Lord! The section dealing with literary piracy during the nineteenth century is especially interesting. This is a thorough historical exposition of the movement for international copyright. It is, however, based only on published materials and would have been enriched by an investigation of the records of publishing houses, the manuscript correspondence of the authors, and the texts of the memorials and petitions on international copyright presented to the House and Senate and preserved now in the legislative files of the National Archives.

University of California, Santa Barbara

DONALD MARQUAND DOZER

DIARY IN AMERICA. By *Captain Frederick Marryat*. Edited with a foreword by *Jules Zanger*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1960. Pp. 342. \$6.95.) After a century of unwarranted and unmerited neglect this delightful and extremely readable travel journal of Frederick Marryat has once more been made available. Marryat, the nautical best-selling author of the early nineteenth century, visited the United States in 1837-1838. This was not the best time for an unreconstructed Tory who opposed the leveling tendencies of the Whigs at home to visit the United States. Marryat came, ostensibly at least, to see "*the effects of a democratic form of government and climate upon a people which . . . may still be considered as English.*" He found precisely what he wished to see, namely, that while there were some good things in the country, generally speaking the nation had definitely declined. He made a fairly extensive tour,

going as far west as Wisconsin, as far south as Missouri and Kentucky, and north to Canada. He had intended to visit the southern states proper but events made that impossible. His visit to the British colonies in Canada was made so that he would have a valid basis of comparison when he reported to the English on life in their former colonies and life in their present colonies, where rampant democracy did not exist. Marryat enjoyed his tour. Initially he was exceedingly well received, but because he attacked the American patriot attitudes toward the Canadian rebels of 1837 and because he praised those who had destroyed the *Caroline*, the good feelings evaporated. This change of sentiment did not really worry the jaunty captain, but the effect shortened his stay and caused him to return to England. As can be imagined, Marryat's book, while much read in the United States, did not much please. The journal is fun to read. Marryat could write well; his set pieces and his descriptions are excellent. He is perceptive, aware, and precise. He re-creates for his readers much of the vitality, rawness, and democracy of his day. This edition is prefaced with a superior essay by Jules Zanger whose account of Marryat, his travels, and of the work as a whole is most valuable.

Bates College S. W. JACKMAN

THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD: A CASE IN PREMATURE ENTERPRISE. By *Robert William Fogel*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 78, Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1960. Pp. 129, ix. \$3.50.) The Union Pacific has been investigated more than any other American railroad, and it has been included in approximately every general history. Any possible feeling that the final word has been uttered is dispelled, however, by Professor Fogel. Looking at old evidence with questioning eyes and adding worth-while new material, Fogel has emerged with new and valuable conclusions. This study deals primarily with the costs and profits of construction, involving the wisdom of congressional legislation and the question as to whether the promoters benefitted unduly. Fogel, an economist, is diligent and intelligent. He views skeptically the long-accepted findings of congressional investigators and frequently characterizes them as contrary to the facts. His careful discussion of promotional profits culminates in an ingenious mathematical formula of adequacy. As Fogel himself states, some of his assumptions are debatable, some of his weightings permit dispute, and all desirable figures are not available, but with every possible allowance, the work is still impressive. Fogel concludes that the main troubles of the road stemmed from faulty congressional legislation, which should have provided government construction and private operation, and not from the wrecking by greedy promoters. He comes to the depressing conclusion that the "myth" of a great railroad wrecked by rapacious promoters is now so deeply embedded in American feelings that it will never be dislodged. The historian will be impressed not only by Fogel's factual analysis and conclusions, but also by his use of theory. He contends that any arrangement of facts into a pattern involves a theory and that the best possible formal theory is more useful than a theory developed by accident. Presumably this statement would apply to other economic theory than Fogel himself uses. The point certainly needs consideration by historians.

Dartmouth College

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

LINCOLN'S MANAGER: DAVID DAVIS. By *Willard L. King*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 383. \$6.75.) Although David Davis had a distinguished career of his own, he is remembered primarily for his close association with Abraham Lincoln. The portly judge and the lean lawyer came to know each other intimately during ten years of riding the judicial circuit together in central Illinois, and it was Davis who directed operations for Lincoln at the Republican Convention of 1860.

Rewarded two years later with an appointment to the United States Supreme Court, he served creditably, but not brilliantly, to the end of the Reconstruction period and wrote the opinion of the Court in the famous Milligan case. A Maryland-born Whig, conservative in his outlook, Davis was never completely at home in the Republican party, and during the disreputable Grant years he moved to an independent position on its outer edge. He was a leading candidate for the presidential nomination at the Liberal Republican Convention in 1872, but lost out to Horace Greeley. In the Hayes-Tilden electoral crisis of 1876-1877, when it was expected that he would be the fifteenth and deciding member of the specially created Electoral Commission, he declined to serve on it. Instead, he accepted election to the United States Senate and there closed out his public career. *Lincoln's Manager*, written by the biographer of Chief Justice Melville Fuller, is the first full-length study of Davis to be published and so fills a great need. The work is doubly valuable because it rests upon exhaustive research and exploits much new manuscript material. The Lincoln-Davis relationship is the heart of the book, which becomes increasingly sketchy in its later pages. Mr. King writes with clarity and poise. He is thoroughly in sympathy with Davis' views, but not blind to his defects, and with much good sense he has elucidated the part played by Davis at several critical moments in American history, such as the nomination of Lincoln and the Hayes-Tilden affair. Scholars will welcome his sound contribution.

Stanford University

D. E. FEHRENBACHER

THREE AGAINST LINCOLN: MURAT HALSTEAD REPORTS THE CAUCUSES OF 1860. Edited with an introduction by *William B. Hesseltine*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1960. Pp. xxi, 321. \$6.00.) In this heyday of the reprint, it is difficult to understand why Murat Halstead's *Caucuses of 1860* has not long since been reissued. Certainly it has been eagerly sought after in its original form as a key source for the rousing presidential campaign of 1860 and has been generally accepted as a classic. Professor Hesseltine now makes it readily available again under the general title *Three Against Lincoln*. Actually the Hesseltine edition is more workable than the original, which was, of course, a compilation of the day-by-day convention accounts Halstead initially prepared for the Cincinnati *Commercial*. While following faithfully the same format, the editor has used his discretion to omit insignificant tallies and repetitious portions of the platforms, corrected obvious errors and misprints, moved lists of delegates to an appendix, and altered the order of a few pages. The twenty-one-page introduction incorporates a cursory biographical account of Halstead, a brief description of his reportorial methods, and a general assessment of the job. Stressing the fact that Halstead's main point—that the nominating convention system was a fraud and should be abolished—was lost upon his readers, he concludes that the work, Seward Republican bias and all, is nevertheless "the most complete and penetrating account" of political conventions yet written. Six pages of notes and a twelve-page index complete a highly intelligent and workmanlike editorial job.

Colgate University

CHARLES R. WILSON

SIBLEY'S NEW MEXICO CAMPAIGN. By *Martin Hardwick Hall*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 366. \$6.00.) Too often Civil War historians dismiss military campaigns in the Far West; only a few writers like W. H. Watford, Aurora Hunt, and Ray C. Colton do not. The appearance of Hall's book is a gratifying reversal of this tendency, for it is the most detailed account of the actual Confederate military effort to implement their western ambitions of slavery expansion, of gaining a possible railroad route, of acquiring mineral resources, and of reaching Pacific shores. This study describes General Henry Hopkins Sibley's New Mexico campaign, which was based

upon an erroneous strategy that his army once equipped in Texas could survive in a tortuous terrain with captured enemy matériel and with supplies from friendly Mexicans. The author pictures New Mexico as it existed before the invasion and the Confederate preparations for the campaign. A portrayal of the difficult march from San Antonio to Fort Bliss, Texas, at the edge of New Mexico, is based upon several contemporary accounts; this gives the reader a feeling of marching (and suffering) with Sibley's troops. The author should be commended for this feature which is evident throughout the study. He lucidly discusses the military operations, the Battle of Valverde, the skirmish of Apache Canyon, and the Battle of Glorieta Pass. Despite their temporary possession of Arizona and southern New Mexico, the Confederates were soon forced to evacuate once the Colorado volunteers and California column came to the rescue. Another praiseworthy feature of the book is its accurate analysis of Sibley's problems and how their immensity actually made his campaign an unwise scheme from the start. A lengthy appendix includes the muster rolls of the Army of New Mexico. The book has a generous selection of maps and illustrations, assisting in an understanding of the campaign, an adequate bibliography, and a good index.

San Jose State College

BENJAMIN F. GILBERT

FOLLOWING THE INDIAN WARS: THE STORY OF THE NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS AMONG THE INDIAN CAMPAIGNERS. By *Oliver Knight*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 348. \$5.95.) This study, by a knowledgeable journalist who has conscientiously worked over the sources, surveys the coverage given by accredited correspondents to the operations of the United States Army against various Indian tribes in the twenty-five years after the Civil War. Pictorial reporting is excluded, but the careers of twenty professional reporters who dispatched verbal reports are traced. In evaluating the quality of their work the author has necessarily undertaken to determine and summarize the correct version of the military actions covered by the correspondents. In some measure, as a result, the book becomes more a history of war operations and less a history of war journalism. Knight has, nevertheless, made a modest contribution to the history of American journalism in its purely institutional aspects. He finds that the reporters were mostly fair and competent as well as energetic and ingenious in getting their accounts to telegraph offices that sometimes lay across enemy lines. Newspaper readers were hungry for the stories, and metropolitan dailies underwrote the heavy costs of communication by wire and courier. The Civil War had generated the profession of military correspondent; pre-Sumter campaigns against the Indians had not been reported with the same degree of thoroughness. The author's analysis would have been even more useful had he dealt more fully with the public images of army and of the civilian Indian service which the correspondents helped create. The army was deployed at the time not only against the Indians but against the Department of the Interior. In a classic power struggle, the generals were trying to recapture control of Indian affairs by discrediting the Indian Office. Part of their strategy was to assert that operations against the Indians constituted a single "war" caused by the corruption and follies of the civilian service. Actually, of course, it was not a war, but a series of limited operations that often revealed professional incompetence within the army. Calling it a war is to attribute to the many Indian tribes a unity that existed only in the images of aggressive frontiersmen and professional Indian sympathizers. Knight's sympathies are clearly with the army, but he seems only dimly aware of the political contest in which the army was engaged. His definition of the Indian "problem" is essentially that of a westerner. Within that framework he has produced an honest and useful book.

Oberlin College

THOMAS LEDUC

SOUTH PASS, 1868: JAMES CHISHOLM'S JOURNAL OF THE WYOMING GOLD RUSH. Introduced and edited by *Lola M. Homsher*. [Pioneer Heritage Series, Number 3.] ([Lincoln:] University of Nebraska Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 244. \$4.50.) In this volume, the third in the Pioneer Heritage Series, the University of Nebraska Press pushes back the horizons on the mining frontier and enlarges a regional bibliography beyond that of furs, trails, and cattle. The editing is high level, the quality of the journal is exceptional in the field, and the total contribution is greatest in social history rather than in new knowledge about gold rushes. Included in the book are about fifty pages of succinctly written introductory material, one hundred pages of a journal covering two trips into the South Pass-Wind River mines, and about fifty pages of supplementary notes on Wyoming, mining, sources, and James Chisholm, who wrote the journal. Chisholm was a Scotsman who came to Chicago in 1864 where he worked on the *Tribune*. When the discovery of gold in Wyoming became known in Chicago, Chisholm was sent west to cover the rush. His notes (and those of the editor) show that the Wyoming gold rush was little different from the ones preceding it. The journal, however, shows that Chisholm was a discerning person with sympathy for the people involved and with a speculative interest in the process. Among other things, his notes record that few of the thinking people in the mines were of orthodox religious belief, that the Indians were generally sullen and lazy, but that the wise settler should marry a squaw since she was inured to work; that the vigilante committee served a worthy purpose, but sometimes did great injustice. Chisholm's view on oil was prescient. This book belongs on shelves of regional history, in mining and journalism collections, and in general social history.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

WALKER D. WYMAN

MERGERS AND THE CLAYTON ACT. By *David Dale Martin*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 351. \$6.00.) This addition to the long list of studies concerning trusts and mergers and their control originated as a doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Los Angeles. The nine chapters of the book range from the background forces that prompted antitrust laws to a final summation of the nature and effectiveness of the Clayton Act as it applied to corporations and competition. The heart of the study is, of course, Section Seven of the act. Professor Martin has studied his subject thoroughly, and he traces with plodding care the course of the law through its application by the Federal Trade Commission for a decade, the somewhat paralyzing decisions of the Supreme Court between 1926 and 1934 concerning it, and its eventual amendment in 1950. Dissenting opinions and uncertain interpretations mark the course of the law, and the author has stated forthrightly not only the opinions of the members of the commission but also the decisions of the judges in the various cases involved, particularly the General Motors-Du Pont decision of 1957. Though his historical background of the law itself and the amendment of 1950 are perhaps too limited, his criticisms and interpretations are soundly based. *Mergers and the Clayton Act* is not a book for the general reader, but it is a substantial contribution to the literature concerning the legal control of industry. There is an appendix, an extensive bibliography, a list of cases, and an index. The University of California Press is to be commended for making the footnotes usable by putting them at the bottom of the pages.

Temple University

JAMES A. BARNES

THE FRAMEWORK OF HEMISPHERE DEFENSE. By *Stetson Conn* and *Byron Fairchild*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Western Hemisphere.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1960. Pp. xv,

470. \$4.25.) The global character of American participation in World War II tends to obscure the primary and basic concern of the United States government, and consequently the American army, for the defense and safety of the continental United States. *The Framework of Hemisphere Defense* is the first of two volumes devoted to the plans made and measures taken by the army to protect the United States and the Western Hemisphere against military attack by the Axis powers before and during the war. When in the late 1930's the coalition of aggressor states foreshadowed a second world war that would, undoubtedly, involve the security of the United States, military planners concluded that the nation could not be threatened seriously by either surface or air attack unless a hostile power first secured a foothold elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere. Consequently, a new national policy of hemisphere defense was adopted. Approximately one-half of this volume is concerned with the evolution of the hemisphere defense policy in the three years before Pearl Harbor, the gradual merger of that policy to a "broader National defense policy of opposing Germany and Japan by all-out aid to nations that were fighting them, and the quick transition in December 1941 to offensive plans and preparations for the defeat of those powers." The last half of the book deals with military relationships between the United States and other American nations in support of plans and preparations for continental and hemisphere defense. Although military policy studies seldom generate the interest of the blood and action of a Cassino, an Anzio, or a Kasserine Pass, Professors Conn and Fairchild have, nonetheless, managed to give us an interesting and readable book. Certainly they have illuminated a highly important aspect of the United States' war effort.

University of Arkansas

JAMES J. HUDSON

THE ARMY AND INDUSTRIAL MANPOWER. By Byron Fairchild and Jonathan Grossman. [U. S. Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xiv, 291. \$2.75.) This volume recounts the War Department's role and experience in dealing with the industrial manpower utilization problems of concern to the United States Army during World War II. The problems treated are presented topically within a chronological frame of reference and are illustrated by discussing successively the main elements that affected the productivity and size of the industrial labor force, the major efforts to counteract adverse factors, and the methods used to enforce manpower policies. Between a background chapter on prewar planning and a final summary, detailed attention is given to the many facets of industrial manpower mobilization during the period 1940-1945. There is ample evidence of extensive research among the relevant documents. The facts involved are well organized and clearly presented. Fairchild and Grossman do not intend this special study to be a comprehensive or complete history of the army's activities in the field of industrial labor problems during the war. Many aspects of the larger story at the various echelons of the War Department will be found in other volumes of the U. S. Army in World War II. The story of *The Army and Industrial Manpower* is told chiefly in terms of the relationships, policies, and interests of the Office of the Undersecretary of War and the Industrial Personnel Division of the Army Service Forces. The War Department's chief interest was in the procurement and production of military supplies. Historically it had approached the labor problem as a production factor. To seek the support and cooperation of industrialists, rather than labor leaders, was entirely in keeping with the focus on production and with the traditional organization of American business. Through congressional action in the mid-1930's, however, organized labor's bargaining position in

industrial production was greatly strengthened. Hence, during the war years 1940-1945, it was essential that the War Department seek the support and cooperation of organized labor. Fairchild and Grossman recount with considerable objectivity the mistakes and successes involved. They conclude that the relationships between the War Department and labor were improved by the wartime experience and that these relationships gradually moved from mutual suspicion to mutual confidence. Fortunately, at no time during the war was there a general shortage of manpower in the sense that total demand exceeded the total nationwide supply. Although on several occasions there were serious shortages in specific production plants, there was no serious impairment of the War Department's production programs. Because of the army's constant concern that military production proceed on schedule, the War Department became directly or indirectly involved in the many problems of industrial manpower. Sensitivity on the propriety of a military agency's becoming too deeply involved in such matters perhaps explains the several references in this volume, emphasizing just how the War Department was "drawn" into the solution of World War II's industrial manpower problems.

Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization

GEORGE W. AUXIER

ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT IN WORLD WAR II. By *Julius Augustus Furer*. With a foreword by *Charles Edison*, and an introduction by *Ernest McNeill Eller*. ([Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Department of the Navy;] distrib. by Government Printing Office. 1959. Pp. xxxvi, 1042. \$6.50.) This encyclopedic work is the navy's contribution to the administrative history program sponsored by the Bureau of the Budget on the instigation of Dr. Pendleton Herring's Committee on Records of War Administration. Its author, Rear Admiral Furer, has singular qualifications. His naval service began more than sixty years ago. He was a classmate and lifelong friend of Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King. Serving as Coordinator of Research and Development from November 1941, he had intimate experience with the administrative intricacies of the wartime Navy Department and its ties with civilian scientists. Above all he has a clear and incisive mind, the ability to reduce vast quantities of complex information to a simple and intelligible narrative, the honesty to say what he means. The character of his book is indicated by this paragraph in the opening chapter: "Then there has been the ever present problem of getting the best Navy for the least money; a continuous preoccupation with all who make a career of the Navy whether in uniform or as civilians, as well as with Congress and the top level executives to whom public service is only an avocation. The frailties of human nature have made superlative administration of the Navy Department no less difficult of achievement than for other enterprises of like size and complexity. The ideal has therefore never been reached and never will be." Between 1940 and 1945 Navy Department personnel increased from 4,786 to 51,558. In the same period 1,099 naval ships displacing 1,900,000 tons grew to 50,759, displacing 13,500,000 tons; uniformed personnel on active duty from 203,127 to 4,031,097; expenditures from \$1,800,000,000 to \$30,000,000,000 for the respective fiscal years. It was clearly necessity, rather than Parkinson's Law, that caused the administrative expansion recorded in this massive volume. Furer explains succinctly and clearly the background of administrative machinery with which the Navy Department entered World War II and why and how changes occurred. When round pegs were placed in square holes, he says so, without being offensive about it. He makes clear much that was hazy even to people who were on the spot at the time. Future historians will be grateful to him for having recorded the details of so many changes in intelligible fashion. Future naval officers and administrators

will have readily available for their guidance an accurate digest of past experience. This is an admirable piece of research and writing that reflects credit upon its author and upon the Office of Naval History which persuaded him, in retirement, to undertake it.
Boston Athenæum WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1942. In seven volumes. Volume I, GENERAL, THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 6995.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. xi, 963. \$3.50.) Historians reading the State Department's *Foreign Relations of the United States* are wont to look for little nuggets that might illuminate interpretations of a period. Unfortunately they will not find these in the present volume. Gathered here is some useful (and not so useful) material on a potpourri of subjects. The sections containing some of the most helpful and interesting data are those on the Declaration by the United Nations, on the Anglo-American discussions relating to postwar economic and financial proposals, on India's political crisis in 1942 and Cripps's mission, on America's attitude toward Korean independence, and on the Philippine situation after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. While Volume I in this seven-volume series deals with a number of miscellaneous and unrelated topics, a central theme does emerge. This theme is the search for Allied unity both in waging the war against the Axis powers and in the "making of the peace." From the diplomatic viewpoint, 1942 was a time of germination which saw the birth of many important institutions. Thus, the Declaration by the United Nations is especially significant in connection with the origins of the United Nations organization. Though intended as a wartime measure, its potential as an instrument for postwar unity was clearly perceived. We also find in this volume those ideas which subsequently crystallized into the creation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. One of the meatiest sections in the book deals with American and British proposals on postwar economic and financial arrangements. It was recognized that peace depended on reconstruction programs capable of restoring economic order and stability; these required drastic changes in thinking on monetary and trade policies. That such programs were carefully explored is evident in the memoranda included in the volume. Closely linked with reconstruction was the deeply felt need for relief and rehabilitation. Again 1942 was important in terms of the evolution of UNRRA which reflected America's determination to assume far greater world responsibility than in the past. The present volume, however, tends to raise more questions than it answers. In his *Memoirs*, Cordell Hull has already told us of the part played by the State Department in drafting the Declaration by the United Nations. Publication of the diplomatic correspondence corroborates his story, but it does not explain why Hull's suggestion to create a Supreme War Council, included in the original Joint Declaration, was shunted aside by President Roosevelt. A study of the Supreme War Council idea, watered down to the British concept of the Combined Chiefs of Staff that was established to coordinate Anglo-American strategy, might furnish a good topic for historians to explore; it might illuminate the divergences that existed among the great powers during the war. An interesting analysis might also be made of America's comparative attitude toward the independence of India, of the Philippines, and of Korea in 1942. The *Foreign Relations* series is an indispensable source reference, and this volume is no exception. Diplomatic papers do not, and cannot, however, tell the whole story. The material needs to be supplemented from other sources.

Georgetown University

JULES DAVIDS

CAMPAIGN IN THE MARIANAS. By *Philip A. Crowl*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military

History, Department of the Army. 1960. Pp. xix, 505. \$6.50.) This well-written and tightly packed study tells the story of the Central Pacific thrust into the Marianas in mid-1944 and the seizure of Saipan, Tinian, and Guam in that order. It places each island in historical perspective, examines both the strategical and tactical plans relating thereto, discusses the conquest of each objective, and suggests the role these operations played in the final victory against Japan. Based on a wide variety of sources, documents, books, articles, and interrogations, and buttressed by excellent maps and charts, the volume is a special contribution to the history of the war in the Pacific because it presents for the first time the army's part in what was predominantly a navy and Marine Corps show. Heretofore the latter two services have had their stories told in both official and semiofficial histories, and now that it is the army's turn, Crowl does a first-rate job. Bringing to his task excellent training and a solid background of previous publication on the Pacific war, he honestly desires to understand what really happened in the controversial Marianas and to tell about it in a judicious spirit. Besides a clear analysis of all the military operations involved, the reader is treated to a highly interesting chapter on the much-publicized "Smith vs. Smith" battle on Saipan. He is also introduced to the pros of the "Central Pacific Concept" and to MacArthur's fantastic but die-hard convictions that the operations in that theater could not and did not bring "to bear any decisive influence on the course of the war." I hope that the book will be as widely read by all students of World War II as it richly deserves to be.

University of Maryland

GORDON W. PRANGE

LATIN AMERICA

VIDA Y OBRA DE GUILLERMO PRIETO. By *Malcolm D. McLean*. (México, D. F.: El Colegio de México; distrib. by the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas. 1960. Pp. 161.) "From Poetry to Politics" would be an appropriate title for this study of one of the leading figures of nineteenth-century Mexico. Originally prepared in English as a research project at the University of Texas, it here appears in Spanish under the auspices of the Colegio de México. Born in 1818 in moderate circumstances, tragedy struck young Guillermo Prieto at the age of thirteen when his father died and his mother lost her mind. In poverty the boy started work at fourteen earning sixteen pesos per month. By initiative and through the influence of friends he became secretary to the Secretary of the Treasury and by 1840 was secretary to President Anastasio Bustamante. Thus launched on a career in public life, he served as Secretary of the Treasury four times interspersed between twenty terms as a member of the National Congress between 1848 and his death in 1897. As professor of history in the Military College and later while occupying the chair of political economy in the Escuela de Jurisprudencia he wrote texts for both sets of courses. As a practical feature the second volume applied the principles expressed to specific Mexican industries. In spite of this active public career Prieto is best known as a literary man. His poetry, his satire (frequently political) in both prose and verse, and his voluminous writings on Mexican social customs appeared in numerous periodicals and books. Dr. McLean's work is well footnoted and has a good bibliography. To an English-speaking person the translation appears to catch much of the flair of the Spanish for the life and feelings of the time. The historian may regret the author's emphasis on Prieto's literary career. At the same time he can ill afford to neglect such an interpretation if he would understand a civilization in which the literary is so interwoven with the political.

Columbia, South Carolina

W. H. CALLCOTT

FRANCISCO VILLA Y LA REVOLUCIÓN. By *Frederico Cervantes M.* (México, D.F.: Ediciones Alonso. 1960. Pp. 828.) Francisco Villa's role in the Mexican Revolution receives sympathetic treatment in this massive volume by General Frederico Cervantes. The author was chief of staff for General Felipe Angeles who, in turn, served as the principal military associate and adviser of Pancho Villa. As a consequence, the volume has all the virtues and disabilities of a firsthand but partisan account. Villa is portrayed as the disinterested defender of the humble and the intuitive patriot fighting for democracy. If Villa is the hero with excusable human frailties, Angeles emerges from this work as the paladin without blemish. After briefly detailing Villa's early life and his military contributions to the Madero revolution and the struggle against Huerta, Cervantes treats in greater detail the development of the schism among the victorious revolutionary forces and the military struggle between the followers of Villa and Zapata on the one hand and those of Carranza on the other. Complete responsibility for the revolutionary division is attributed to Carranza. Villa's conduct always is considered as well intentioned, while that of the contrary elements is interpreted as malevolent. Although the major emphasis is on military history, considerable attention is given to the efforts of the government of the Revolutionary Convention, which Cervantes served for a time as Communications Minister, to formulate the basic social and economic reforms of the revolution. The final section of the volume is devoted to Villa's guerrilla warfare after the massive military defeats at Celaya and León and to his final years at Canutillo. Scattered throughout the volume and supplemented by more than 160 pages of appendixes are documentary and memoir materials representing the recollections of Cervantes and his fellow *villistas*. Reproduced *in extenso* are official reports and eyewitness accounts of military engagements, telegrams and correspondence exchanged between the principal revolutionary figures, and articles rescued from obscure periodicals. These source materials represent the major contribution of this work.

University of Nebraska

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Historical News

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The New York Meeting, 1960

Between December 28 and December 30, 1960, over three thousand registered historians and an undetermined number of auxiliaries, disinclined to mind the fees and queues of the registry, gathered on the occasion of the seventy-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association in their triennial campaign to take over New York City. Headquarters were set up at the Statler-Hilton Hotel, and the historians immediately encountered, within these hallowed precincts, a resistance that was as fierce as it was unexpected. The mezzanine, traditionally the center of all operations, was the scene of an evident scorched-earth policy. Exhibitors, registrars, slave traders, and circulators strove manfully to execute the usual logistics against a stark background of naked posts, temporary partitions, and uncharted ceilings. And when retreat to the meeting halls was sounded, a counterattack followed, featuring the unveiling of two secret weapons—a giant hammer whose function was exclusively auditory and a ray gun which diffused an even temperature of 100° F. through many of the public rooms.

Still, the meeting ran its accustomed course with no inordinate curtailment of any wonted activity. Tribute is due the intrepid squad that made up the Committee on Local Arrangements: Madeline R. Robinton of Brooklyn College, chairman; Jesse D. Clarkson, Brooklyn College; Louise E. Daley, Barnard College; Bailey Diffie, City College of New York; Dorothy G. Fowler, Hunter College; John Garraty, Columbia University; Samuel Hurwitz, Brooklyn College; Ransom E. Noble, Pratt Institute; Robert V. Remini, Fordham University; Charles H. Van Duzer, Queens College; John Wilkes, New York University. Only their victorious autumnal skirmishing with the hostellers produced the facilities which made the convention possible at all.

Whether through determination or apathy in the face of a hostile environment, historians attended sessions in what chairmen reported as high numbers, although there were sufficient variations to remind this reporter that a historian risks prediction at his peril. The program was a blend of proposals of joint sessions initiated by the cooperating societies, negotiated and approved by the AHA Program Committee; proposals of papers by individual members of the AHA around which the Program Committee built sessions; and sessions developed upon the initiative of the Program Committee itself. This committee, which functioned largely as a collegial body, included Daniel Aaron, Smith College; Knight Biggerstaff, Cornell University; Norman F. Cantor, Columbia University; Alexander Dallin, Columbia University; Richard S. Dunn, University of Pennsylvania; Franklin L. Ford, Harvard University; Fritz Stern, Columbia University; and Leonard Krieger, Yale University, the chairman. At its first meeting the commit-

tee adopted three criteria of programming, which it broadcast to cooperating societies and departmental chairmen. First, it would accept any proposal in any field from any source if such proposal promised to be of general interest to historians. Secondly, the committee would give special consideration to topics drawn from "the frontiers of history" (a theme later employed in a variant form by a well-known political campaigner, with considerable success). It construed "frontiers" to include not only particular areas and methods that have recently attracted especial attention from historians but also the general dislocation of historical boundary lines that has resulted from postwar impatience with the older cultural, national, periodic, and functional subdivisions of history. Thirdly, no single theme or emphasis should be prosecuted to the extent of neglecting the variety of interests and attitudes characteristic of our far-flung profession. The Program Committee thus deemed flexibility in design to be a good in itself.

The session "Determinants of Western Civilization," under the chairmanship of Knight Biggerstaff, Cornell University, presented a paper on the self-image of the West and a discussion from the point of view of three non-Western civilizations. Gerhard Masur, Sweet Briar College, traced the classic interpretation of Western civilization from the eighteenth century as a homogeneous one, which has idealized progress, science, rationalism, and freedom. Prometheus Unbound has been one of the symbols for the emancipation of the individual. Yet, although the advancement of the human mind was sought, the emphasis was almost always on Western progress, on the white race. The non-Western world was felt to have little if anything to contribute to mankind; Western civilization was the model for all. H. A. R. Gibb, Harvard University, briefly summarized the historical self-image of the Islamic community and then pointed out that the civilization of the West has, in the Moslem view, always been contaminated by usurpations, first of ecclesiastical authority and then of "reason." Its "rationality," moreover, has been undermined by a seed of unreason at its core and the assumption of individual "natural rights" released from obligations. Lucien M. Hanks, Bennington College, speaking for Theravada Buddhism, accused the West of not recognizing that man is part of the cosmos and must harmonize himself with its workings, of ignoring the natural moral law that automatically punishes crimes, of believing that moral progress follows from material progress, and of not stressing self-discipline and social responsibility. Joseph R. Levenson, University of California at Berkeley, pointed out that while the West was gaining a position from which world history and European history could be considered as a corporate unity, Chinese civilization was losing its traditional position from which world history and Chinese history were considered a corporate unity. Confucian world-historical thinking laid its emphasis typically not on process (as in so many Western examples) but on permanence, on moral absolutes. The moribundity of Confucianism in modern times reflects the subversion of amateur ideals (central to Confucianism) by the specialization of the "progressive" world.

The general implications of "Technology as Cause in History" were discussed in a joint session with the Society for the History of Technology. Mervin J. Kelly, former president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, presided in the absence of Stanley Pargellis, Newberry Library. Roger Burlingame, West Redding, Connecti-

cut, claimed that historians had neglected crucial technological factors in their narratives. He pointed out several instances where technological developments had been among the most important causative factors in effecting historical change, for example, the role of the clock in political, economic, and social history. Treating the other side of the relationship, Lewis Mumford, University of Pennsylvania, argued that the internal history of technics cannot be "firmly pictured without reference to the culture it served and to the movement of that culture through time." Using the example of the Egyptian pyramids, he showed how technical achievements arose from human purposes rather than from the internal development of technics. The commentator, H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University, claimed that the idealist historians had denied the "spiritual" character of technology and thereby neglected its human origin and function. If the "anonymous" character of technology has obscured its importance, it should be remembered that much of all history is the work of "anonymous prime movers."

Challenges and responses in "Historical Reviewing" were outlined by Lawrence Stone, Oxford University, and Raymond Walters, Jr., of the New York *Times*. Mr. Stone discussed historical reviewing in England from 1920 to 1960. He pointed out that reviewing there tended to be more critical and also, unfortunately, to be done by a small group of scholars. According to Stone, some of the editorial practices of the *American Historical Review* might well be followed in England, but American reviewing might be less uncritical. Mr. Walters described the practices and problems of reviewing in the United States in various American historical publications as well as in the press. The two papers received vigorous comment from J. H. Hexter, Washington University, who directed his remarks chiefly to Stone's paper; from John Clive, University of Chicago, who satirized the reviewing in the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *American Historical Review*, and the New York *Times* book section as he gave a critique of the papers; and from Bernard Bailyn of Harvard University, who believed that American reviewing might be much more critical than it is. The chairman of the session was Boyd C. Shafer of the *American Historical Review* who along with other editors at the session also commented on American practices.

Two papers were addressed to the question "Where Is American Historiography Going?" in a session presided over by C. Vann Woodward, Johns Hopkins University. The first, by Daniel J. Boorstin, University of Chicago, described a change among historians during the last seventy-five years "from a dynamic to a static view of our whole national past," a shift from an emphasis on ideals and their realization to the construction of images or molds with the vocabulary of the social sciences. The historian now enters less into the conscious life of the past than formerly and tends to stand outside and recast data in static molds. The second paper, by John Higham, University of Michigan, traced and evaluated the shift from progressive to conservative history since the 1940's. The change has resulted in dropping the older stress on internal conflict and recurrent crisis and emphasized continuity, uniformity, and stability. Higham deplored the loss of moral relevance in historical writing and urged the renewal of moral criticism. Commenting on these papers, Rowland Berthoff, Princeton University, agreed with both, but pointed out a new interpretation that emphasized stability and harmony among conservative values and mobility and diversity among liberal

ones. James C. Malin, University of Kansas, was not sure he understood either of the main papers, but if he did he agreed with neither and thought them addressed to quite different questions. He suggested new lines of inquiry he thought more fruitful.

A joint meeting with the History of Education Society considered "Academic Freedom in the United States." Lawrence Cremin, Teachers College, Columbia University, presided in place of Richard Storr, University of Chicago. In a paper on the origins of the American Association of University Professors, Walter Metzger, Columbia University, stressed the role of historical accident in moving the Association to the central concern with academic freedom and tenure that has long marked its activities. In a companion paper on academic freedom in American public law, David Fellman, University of Wisconsin, maintained that American decisional law has been "formless and almost rudimentary" with respect to the associated problems of academic freedom and tenure. Wilson Smith, Johns Hopkins University, commented by pointing to ways in which both papers exemplified the development of a "new history of education," humanistic in character, broadly conceived, and closely allied with the fields of social and intellectual history.

The joint luncheon session with the American Studies Association, presided over by Stow Persons, State University of Iowa, heard a paper by Warren Susman, Rutgers University, on "The Intellectual Uses of History." Mr. Susman distinguished the successive epochs of American history according to the conception which each of them entertained of its own relationship to the past. He expounded the thesis that the central spirit of an age is found in its notion of the nature of the historical process.

The profession was subjected to a different kind of general scrutiny at the Phi Alpha Theta luncheon, where Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas, presided in the absence of Edwin B. Coddington, Lafayette College, and Lynn W. Turner, Otterbein College, spoke on "Gullible's Travails in Academicia." In the manner of Jonathan Swift in his *Gulliver's Travels*, Turner held a mirror before his fellow historians so that they could see their own academic pretensions more clearly. He suggested that under certain circumstances their virtues become foibles and render them incapable of finding answers upon which the survival of our civilization depends.

For obvious reasons, contemporary history is one of the most rapidly expanding historical fields. Sessions were addressed to developments in this field for various areas.

Two sessions dealt with recent United States history. One, on "American Nuclear Politics," under the chairmanship of William W. Kaufmann, RAND Corporation, included discussions of the politics of both the atomic and hydrogen bombs. Oscar Anderson, of the historical section of the Atomic Energy Commission, spoke on the diplomacy of 1945-1946 initiated by the A-bomb, and Richard Hewlett, from the same office, revealed the issues behind the struggle for domestic control in the same period. Walter R. Schilling, Columbia University, discussed the tortuous process of decision making in reference to the adoption of the H-bomb. John Palfrey, Columbia University, commented.

A second session on contemporary American history was sponsored jointly with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association under the title "The United States and World Economy," with Victor L. Albjerg, Purdue University, in the chair. The speaker, Edwin M. Martin of the State Department, outlined the difficulties confronting American assistance to underdeveloped areas and recommended that local regions should determine the nature and sequence of developments. Private capital should be encouraged and measures should be taken to maintain sound fiscal systems. An equitable distribution of wealth should be a high desideratum. The first commentator, Chester Easum, University of Wisconsin, endorsed much of Martin's paper. Recalling the various agencies that had contributed to the restoration of Germany after World War II, he underwrote Martin's recommendation of using local talent, labor, and matériel in the development of a region. John M. Blum, Yale University, criticized Martin's failure to differentiate between the problems and potentialities of semideveloped nations with completed infrastructures and those of undeveloped nations still almost primitive. In contrast to Martin, he urged the need for organizing development programs on a multilateral basis and for increasing at once American funds for development expenditures. Sidney Ratner, Rutgers University, commented on the relations of the topic under discussion to the question of taxation.

For contemporary Europe, William L. Langer, Harvard University, presided over a discussion of "European Resistance Movements in World War II," with particular reference to France, Italy, and Germany. Gordon Wright, Stanford University, whose paper, in his absence, was read by Peter Gay, Columbia University, made the point that the resistance movements, if they are mentioned at all, are given short shrift in present-day textbooks and, furthermore, that there is an increasing tendency to minimize their importance. He reviewed the salient features of the French underground, analyzing its composition and its achievement and giving particular attention to the role of the Communist party. His conclusion was that the French resistance, even though victory would probably have been won without it, lent a moral tone to French political life and that the postwar organization of the country might have been different had it never come into being. Max Salvadori, Smith College, concerned himself more largely with the military situation in Italy in 1943-1945 and the contribution made by the resistance to the defeat and withdrawal of the Germans. In Italy the entire movement was, in a sense, the continuation and expansion of the opposition to Fascism. Hajo Holborn, Yale University, noted the continuance, throughout the Hitler regime, of considerable popular opposition to Nazism, both on the part of the socialists and on the part of the Catholic and Protestant churches, but concerned himself largely with the organized resistance within the army, from prewar plans to the famous attempt of July 1944. Like other speakers, Holborn stressed the enormous difficulties in the way of effective opposition to a strongly entrenched government. In his concluding comments, Franklin L. Ford, Harvard University, drew a number of comparisons and contrasts and underlined especially the fact that the resistance movements, whatever measure of popular support they may have enjoyed, depended for leadership on the "old groups" who defected from the totalitarian regimes. This would certainly explain in part the composition of postwar governments, but Ford agreed that these governments might have been

far different had there been no "anti-Nazi conscience" to be taken into account.

Still another area of contemporary history which historians have been developing was the subject of a joint session with the Conference on Latin American History. "The Anatomy of Twentieth-Century Revolution in Latin America" was under the chairmanship of Charles C. Griffin, Vassar College, who doubled as summarizing commentator. In his synthetic review of Mexican developments, Howard F. Cline of the Library of Congress stressed the growth of the Mexican economy and the increasing social mobility observable. Violent revolution led through various stages to increased nationalism and social welfare in an open society. A paper by Richard Patch, American Universities Field Staff, on the Bolivian revolution was read for him by John Murra, Vassar College. Patch, an anthropologist, stressed the independent action of peasant groups in bringing agrarian reform parallel to the nationalist revolutionary movement chiefly based in urban and industrial labor groups. In general the revolution had maintained moderate policies. David Burks, University of Michigan, summarized revolutionary developments in Cuba. *Fidelismo* from the outset was radically revolutionary, its leader an extraordinarily charismatic personality. Its drift from supposedly democratic to totalitarian behavior was due to numerous factors including inadequate policies of the United States and skillful maneuvering by the Communists and left-wing members of the Castro movement.

Finally, the distinctive problems posed for the contemporary historian by the new nations of Asia and Africa were analyzed by Edward Shills, University of Chicago, at the joint luncheon of the Modern European History Section, where Garrett Mattingly, Columbia University, presided.

But the extension of historical interests beyond the orbit of Western culture has raised problems that go beyond those of contemporary history. In the session on "Eastern Europe and the Historian," with Oswald P. Backus, University of Kansas, in the chair, Henry L. Roberts, Columbia University, presented the only paper. Stressing Eastern Europe's "intimate and ambiguous relationship" with Western Europe, he commented on three connected questions in Eastern European historiography: origins, continuity, and relations with Western Europe. He suggested that Eastern European historians have attached too much importance to the question of origins and that they have overemphasized the role of catastrophic events in producing discontinuity. In their search for identity or differentiation vis-à-vis Western Europe, he saw a tendency "to give a unity, a singleness, to Western Europe that seems artificial and unreal." As a result, inappropriate categories of historical analysis were borrowed from the West, which has led to confusion and unsound debate. He asserted the validity of "the comparison of Eastern and Western European history." Robert L. Wolfe, Harvard University, spoke of the role of psychological complexes and the antiquity of the yearning for self-identification, describing evidence thereof among Byzantine Greeks. Dietrich Gerhard, Washington University and Amerika-Institut der Köln Universität, tended to justify the concern with origins and continuity. He asserted the significance of the discontinuity of Eastern Europe in any comparison with Western Europe, distinguished for its continuity. He partly blamed the West's misleading uses of historical terminology for the confusion sown by Marxism-Leninism. Paul H. Beik, Swarthmore College, commented from the vantage point of Western

European history, emphasizing particularly the diversity of Western Europe and the difficulty and value of comparison. The discussion from the floor was begun by Oscar Halecki, Fordham University, who defended some of the emphases of Eastern European historiography by calling attention to motivating desires: to escape the present, to defend the continuity of independent nations, and to belong to Western Europe despite rejection. Michael B. Petrovich, University of Wisconsin, and Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University, asked that it be made a matter of record that this session was of rare quality, that more of its type should be scheduled, and that equipment be used to record every word.

The problem of psychology and history was broached at a session on "Personality and Biography in American History," with Frances Perkins, Cornell University, presiding. William B. Willcox, University of Michigan, opened the session with a description of his use of professional psychiatric assistance in analyzing the enigmatic character and inconsistent actions of Sir Henry Clinton. The results suggest that in a biography, a psychologist and a historian working together can go further (in understanding the personality) than either one could justifiably go alone. Elting Morison, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose paper was read by John M. Blum, Yale University, suggested that intuition is an extension of the thinking process taking place under conditions when the conscious mind is blocked in an effort to organize and interpret the available evidence. He noted that intuition had been used long before psychology developed, from Sophocles to Shakespeare to Tolstoy. The hazard is that the reality of the subject and his humanity may be lost. David Donald, Princeton University, maintained that motivation was the most difficult problem facing the American biographer. The standard historical techniques are adequate for handling conscious motivation, but psychological insights are necessary for resolving unconscious motivation. Using his own work on Charles Sumner as illustrative material, Donald recommended larger psychological knowledge for the biographer rather than the more difficult collaboration with a psychologist. The psychological techniques, auxiliaries and no replacement for digging into manuscripts and records, must be used with caution and humility. The comment by John Garraty, Columbia University, led the large audience to participate in questions and statements of opinion.

The historical validity of specific sociological and theological interpretations was the theme of the session "Beyond History: Extra-Historical Contributions to American History," at which Henry F. May, University of California at Berkeley, presided. In his paper on the historical relevance of Riesman, Whyte, and Mills, Carl N. Degler, Vassar College, gave most of his attention to Riesman, as the most historically oriented and the most subtle of the three selected sociologists. Riesman was mistaken in saying that the "other-directed man" was characteristic of the twentieth century and the "inner-directed man" of the nineteenth. Actually "other-directedness," or extreme responsiveness to the influence of contemporaries, was characteristic of American society throughout the nineteenth century. Jerome Cohen, Brandeis University, argued that recent developments in theology make possible "fruitful exchange" between that field and history. Modern existential theology offers the historian four useful assumptions or "expectations" with which to look at the past. These are: a dual view of man which transcends both idealism and materialism, the concept of irony, the concept of tragedy, and the distinction

between inner and external history. The prepared comment, by Daniel Aaron, Smith College, concentrated mainly on the Degler paper and argued that the value of Riesman's insights was not dependent on a sharp and complete division between two periods. A lively discussion period was devoted almost entirely to the Cohen paper. Most of those who spoke agreed that theology had something to offer historians. Some, however, feared the development of a dichotomy between two rigid and oversimplified views of human destiny, one "progressive" and the other "tragic."

The pertinence of philosophy and the social sciences to a quite different historical context was the theme of a session on "A Historian's Craft: Marc Bloch," with Norman F. Cantor, Columbia University, presiding. Hans Meyerhoff, philosophy department, University of California at Los Angeles, approved of Bloch's concern with the problem of language in historical exposition. He suggested that some of the recent work of logicians has carried this inquiry further. Bryce Lyon, University of California at Berkeley, examined Bloch's study of feudal society from the viewpoint of the student of medieval political institutions and concluded that Bloch had failed to make any outstanding contributions to the understanding of feudal institutions; Bloch's use of sociological terms had won him popularity, but Lyon doubted that such an approach was fruitful. J. A. Raftis, Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, assessed Bloch's work as an agrarian historian: the comparative method and reliance on methods derived from the social sciences had been used with great success by Bloch in his study of French agrarian history. The same methods could with great profit be applied to English agrarian history. In the comment, George C. Homans, department of social relations, Harvard University, dissented strongly from several of Lyon's remarks. Homans claimed that Bloch had tried to address a wide public in his study of feudal society, and Lyon's criticism was therefore unfair and untenable.

The connection of politics and history was investigated in the session on "Statesmen-Historians," in which Walter Johnson, University of Chicago, acted as chairman. Stanley Mellon, Yale University, emphasized how, after Guizot assumed political power, he soon alienated the intellectual community which had produced him. As a result of direct contact, he was forced to revise the exalted notions about the middle class that he had worked out as a historian. After 1848, when Guizot returned to history, he no longer celebrated the middle class; he celebrated France. Bertram D. Wolfe, New York City, emphasized that, like Guizot, Trotsky became a historian after his active political career ended. Wolfe described Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* as one-sided but persuasive, with a description of the conspiracy to seize power unequaled in all the literature on the Revolution. Trotsky's profiles of the principal participants, Wolfe felt, were remarkable. John Wells Davidson, Associate Editor of the Papers of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton University, observed that while Wilson should not be placed in the ranks of the great American historians he drew freely on history. This made Wilson a more effective President. The commentator, McGeorge Bundy, Harvard University, remarked that he preferred a statesman-historian to either a statesman who knew no history or a historian who did not actively know politics.

In surveying historians' current interests the Program Committee was struck by the great concern with urban history, not as a species of local history but rather

as a manageable microcosm for handling larger issues. Several sessions represented this emphasis.

John A. Mundy, Columbia University, presided over a session on "Urbanization in History." Lawrence Richardson, Jr., Yale University, described the recent excavations at Cosa. Founded by Latin and Roman settlers in 273 B.C., Cosa tells much about early Roman colonization. It was a miniature replica of Rome itself, similar in religion, government, and planning to its greater model. William M. Bowsky, University of Nebraska, delineated the social composition of the oligarchy that ruled Siena from about 1287 to 1355. While generally excluding both the nobility and the poor, this group was not narrow, since its members were economically related to the disenfranchised nobles and occasionally admitted men of humble economic status. Including persons owning much property in Siena's *contado*, this oligarchy's interests were also not narrowly urban. Richard M. Morse, Institute of Caribbean Studies, University of Puerto Rico, advanced two interrelated hypotheses on the role of the city in the settlement of Latin America and on the basic characteristics of the modern Latin American metropolis. The early settlement was effected by towns modeled on those of Iberia. Faced by growing quasi-seigniorial latifundia in the countryside, however, these cities slowly atrophied. Recently the larger cities have passed from this centrifugal phase into a centripetal one. By now the metropolis has grown out of proportion to its industrial power, and, lacking basic urban institutions, has been invaded by rural social forms. The commentator, Richard C. Wade, University of Rochester, applauded the study of preindustrial urbanism as a corrective for the frequent assumptions that industrialization and urbanization go hand in hand and that urban and rural society are necessarily hostile. He also suggested that today's Asian urbanization presents striking parallels with that of Latin America.

Bernadotte E. Schmitt, President of the American Historical Association and chairman of the session "A Tale of Three Cities: European Capitals before the First World War," sounded the keynote of the session by emphasizing the cultural and social focus of the participants. Carl E. Schorske, University of California at Berkeley, analyzed the undermining of Vienna's capital position in the Empire at the turn of the century by the rise of the national movements as the context of a new Viennese culture. Spurred by a sense of functionlessness, a fear of the masses, and a preoccupation with the instinctual, the pioneers of this culture discovered the full range of the psyche in the pain of a dissolving value system. Taking comfort in the notion that where nothing was certain all things were possible, Vienna struggled vainly to sustain imperial life by the power of symbolization. Jacques Barzun, Columbia University, described prewar Paris as "a time of high fever," to denote the excitement of scientific, literary, and artistic creativity in the context of organic changes in politics and society. Cubism in art and related movements in literature represented man's sense of mastery over his experience. The shock of war crushed this promising transition from the tumbling traditions of the nineteenth century to the establishment of reason, order, and finality of expression in the new. George Dangerfield, Carpinteria, California, depicted prewar London in terms of the "final purposelessness" and "inner irresponsibility" with which the prevailing liberal temper met the hostile challenges of collectivism and Irish nationalism. Yet there were signs, too, of a healthy re-

visionism, portents not of decay but of survival. In his comment, Alexander Gerschenkron, Harvard University, acknowledged himself unable to find common bases for comparison of the three papers and confined himself to remarks on the cultural situation of Vienna.

"Urban Reform and the Progressive Movement" was the subject of a joint session with the Urban History Group and the American Association for State and Local History, under the chairmanship of Bayrd Still, New York University. In a paper dealing with Kansas City politics from 1890 to 1914, Theodore Brown, University of Kansas City, pointed to numerous occasions on which the boss, James Pendergast, as well as the reformer, editor William R. Nelson, supported progressive proposals. Frederick I. Olson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, characterized Milwaukee's first Socialist administration, 1910-1912, as the "late arrival of a Milwaukee variant on progressive reform." He laid the transiency of the Seidel administration to divided goals, party distractions, and the failure to develop loyalty to the party wide enough to safeguard its future. The short-lived reform regime of Rudolph Blankenburg in Philadelphia, 1912-1916, was discussed by Donald W. Disbrow, Eastern Michigan College. He cited as among the reasons for its limited tenure the mayor's unwillingness to supply his reform supporters with the patronage they had expected and the failure to attract the immigrant and Negro vote with something more substantial than "pleas about good government." In commenting upon the papers, Mayor Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia stressed the need for flexibility in the reform mayor and observed that New Deal legislation had limited the power of the boss by giving the unemployed other sources of support. Arthur Mann, Smith College, pointed to the need for a more precise definition of "progressivism" before calling it the causal factor in municipal reform movements extending from 1880 to 1920.

A session on "Urbanism and Its Effects upon American Religious Life, 1890-1940," with Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard University in the chair, was sponsored jointly with the American Catholic Historical Association. The first paper, dealing with the Protestants, was given by Aaron I. Abell, University of Notre Dame, while the Catholics were treated in the second paper by Robert D. Cross, Columbia University. Both authors agreed on the profound effects of the urban movement upon the churches, and Cross showed that in spite of the concentration of Catholics in the large urban centers, it by no means stifled emphasis from Catholic writers and speakers on the need for the Church to continue to call attention to the wholesomeness of rural life for its people. John R. Betts, Boston College, commented.

The joint session with the Lexington Group addressed itself to the problem of "Railroads and Cities." Richard C. Overton, historian of the Burlington Lines, presided in the absence of David I. Mackie, chairman of the Eastern Railroads Presidents Conference. Charles J. Kennedy, University of Nebraska, discussed "Commuter Services in the Boston Area, 1835-1860," and explained how the seven early roads, notably the Boston & Maine, promoted development of "railroad villages" within a ten-mile radius of the city by selling reduced rate season tickets. Rising rail expenses in the 1850's, however, led to increased fares, commuter complaints, and many of the problems now associated with such services. "The Decline of Railroad Commutation," by George W. Hilton of Northwestern's Trans-

portation Center, concentrated on the period since World War I, during which rail commutation has been increasingly subjected to two conflicting pressures: the growth of suburbs and the shift to auto transport. George Rogers Taylor, Amherst College, and Joe W. Kizzia, executive editor of *Railway Age*, offered formal comments on the two papers.

One of the most promising recent developments in historical method was the theme of the session on "The Use of Symbols in History," over which Helene Wieruszowski, City College of New York, presided. In his paper on the use of symbols as historical evidence, Erwin R. Goodenough of Yale University argued the hypothesis: When a historian has a mass of symbols from a civilization or a religious group he can use it as evidence even without any literary explanations, provided that he is able to grasp and feel their psychological impact within a given civilization. It is essential, moreover, for the historian to decide whether the symbols of his subject are innovations or whether they had been used by earlier peoples, and with what meaning. Values remain constant only as long as the symbol is a living one. Then, but only then, can they be taken as the living voice of the anonymous masses of peoples. Gerhard Ladner, Fordham University, characterized medieval symbolism as that kind of mentality whereby symbols are considered as media or vehicles of various degrees of realities of both the natural and supernatural orders. The sacraments are the most outstanding instance of this type of symbolism, but other medieval symbols, like the crown of the Holy Roman Empire and the papal tiara, share their character and especially the quality of bringing about the effect they are believed to signify. In his comment, Michael Cherniavsky, Wesleyan University, questioned Goodenough's thesis. Many symbols have lost all their meanings in the course of time, and their various associations with one another often appear senseless, paradoxical, and even ridiculous. He doubted whether medieval beholders of such public symbols as crown and tiara felt any impact on their souls.

The problem which has been raised for the autonomy of the historian by the expansion of government-sponsored history was at issue in a joint session with the American Military Institute under the title "The Truth of the Battlefield and the Official Historian." Theodore Ropp, Duke University, presided. Jay Luvaas of Allegheny College traced the mistrust of official history back to the distortions of treatment and the pressures of censorship suffered by early British official military history from the Crimean through the First World War. Martin Blumenson, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, argued that the United States Army has avoided these pitfalls by employing trained historians—largely civilian—and by granting free access to records. The real restrictions upon official historians now are not those of security or of bias but those exerted by the critical method employed in a cooperative enterprise. The commentator, Louis Morton, Dartmouth College, declared the source of distortions now to lie not in overt censorship but in the subtle influence exerted by the point of view of any institution, official or otherwise, that employs historians to examine its records.

The fate of common themes in different settings of time or place provided the topics for several sessions.

The session on "The Humanist Theme: Change and Continuity in the West-

ern Cultural Tradition" was presided over by Frederick Burkhardt, President of the American Council of Learned Societies. Hanna H. Gray, University of Chicago, presented her thesis that the faith in eloquence was the identifying characteristic of Renaissance humanism and that this faith proceeded from a fundamental agreement on the purposes of knowledge and of discourse. Arthur Wilson, Dartmouth College, then discussed humanism during the Enlightenment. Continuity was provided by the prestige of humanism both as the study of classical literature and as a philosophy of man. But change was also under way, as a result of the quarrel between ancients and moderns and of John Locke's doctrines. These brought about a humanism that was both scientific and politically radical in spirit. In his "Contemporary Humanism: A Critique," Herbert Marcuse of Brandeis University argued that at the very time when technology renders possible the conditions of existence for which humanism has striven, the political tensions so organize society as to counteract their realization. "Thus humanism appears again as mere ideology . . . The task of contemporary humanism is to identify the forces which prevent its realization." Crane Brinton, Harvard University, commented on the semantic problem provided by the term "humanism" as used in the three papers and tentatively offered as a "least common denominator" the antireligious or "antidivinity" theme of the humanist tradition.

Carlton J. H. Hayes presided over the session on "Nationalism and the Growth of States." Frank Pegues, Ohio State University, emphasized the role of Philip the Fair and Edward I and the royal legists Guillaume de Plaisians and Sir John Fortescue in propagandizing nationalism in medieval France and England. Hans Rogger of Sarah Lawrence College dealt with the national Russian "dilemma" from Nicholas I to Nicholas II, which he defined as opposition between the imperial bureaucracy and the nationalist intelligentsia, whether Westernizing or Slavophile. James S. Coleman, African Studies Center in the University of California at Los Angeles, essayed an analysis of nationalism in the contemporary multiplication of independent states in Africa, distinguishing between ethnic, regional, and territorial nationalisms, and contending that the strongest and probably the most enduring is the territorial, that is, a nationalism based on boundaries previously fixed by the colonial powers. Karl Deutsch, Yale University, in discussing the papers, questioned whether some evidence of English and French nationalism might not be found prior to the fourteenth century. He also expressed skepticism about the enduring quality of "territorial" nationalism in Africa, citing its supplanting elsewhere by ethnic nationalism.

Militarism in different contexts was the topic of the session on "Armies in Domestic Politics." Gordon A. Craig, Princeton University, presided. John Maki, University of Washington, spoke on the political influence of the Japanese army before the war. P. J. Vatikiotis, Indiana University, analyzed the role of the military in Egypt. Ramon E. Ruiz, Smith College, commented from the viewpoint of the Cuban experience, and Samuel P. Huntington, Columbia University, from the viewpoint of militarism in general.

The session on "The Impact of World War I," with Broadus Mitchell, Hofstra College, in the chair, explored aspects of the repercussions of the first total war in the United States and Britain. William E. Leuchtenberg, Columbia University, discussed the effect upon the American New Deal. He found the militant char-

acter of FDR's efforts at extrication of the country from depression of the thirties derived far less from Populist and Progressive eras than from wartime experience. Here had been governmental intervention in the economy, deliberate planning, a spirit of ardent teamwork. The war removed many political and social inhibitions and trained personnel prepared to attack a new crisis problem. Stephen R. Graubard, Harvard University, analyzed the war's influence on the British labor movement. He explained that previous social advocacy, as by the Fabians, and the conversion of individuals like Arthur Henderson to a quasi-socialist program were not determining in the new departure of the Labour party in 1918. Rather, it was the demonstration of what organized power could accomplish in a national emergency that persuaded the workers to espouse this method for peaceful reform. The commentator, Mario Einaudi, Cornell University, subscribed on the whole to these contentions, yet shaded them in important features.

The session on "The Businessman in History," with Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota, as chairman, roamed widely in space and time. To the question, "How was commercial investment in medieval Venice affected by the condemnation of usury?" Frederic C. Lane of Johns Hopkins University gave a double answer: It was encouraged by the growing hostility toward interest bearing loans secured by collateral against risk of loss and made to meet consumption needs rather than supply working capital. And, the changes that took place in the actual form, terms, and rewards of investment contracts were made in response to changing economic conditions and the increase in funds; they were not, as has often been alleged, hypocritical attempts to dodge or conform to the prohibition of usury. The two other papers explored the role of the businessman in the industrialization of Russia and the modernization of Japan and found it insignificant. In the case of Russia, Theodore H. Von Laue, University of California at Riverside, attributed this to Witte's autocratic foisting of a preconceived plan on a business community without prior consultation or attempt to win cooperation and to his emphasis on importing foreign know-how and money. As for Japan, Ardath W. Burks of Rutgers University insisted that the Meiji Restoration was no "bourgeois revolution." Political goals were predominant, and economic resources only the means. Merchants had been as loyal to the old government as they now became to the new. John S. Sawyer, Yale University, found in the papers good illustrations of the need to study business enterprise and economic development in their social setting.

"Types of Land Reform," a session jointly sponsored with the Agricultural History Society, pursued this theme into highly divergent locales. Oliver W. Holmes of the National Archives presided. David J. Brandenburg of American University summarized land reform during the French Revolution, emphasizing that despite the peasant uprising, the abolition of feudal burdens and charges, and the redistribution of lands of the nobles and the Church, the results hardly constituted reform if reform was to be understood as the planned and conscious carrying out of a scheme for improvement of conditions. Jerome Blum, Princeton University, discussed the Russian land reform of 1861 as an example of a planned conservative reform intended to preserve the existing structure of social values. After reviewing and appraising different explanations for the reform that have been advanced by past historians, he expressed and defended his own preference

for the view that Alexander II forced through the reform program against opposition of the greater part of the nobility to preserve his state from internal collapse. The third paper, by Marion Clawson of Resources for the Future, Inc., entitled "Man and Land in Israel," surveyed a land reform program in a modern, newly independent nation. Special conditions led the Jews to develop unique methods of holding and using land. Until 1948 the Jewish National Fund constituted the chief mechanism for purchasing and holding available land. After independence the state of Israel took control. Lands are now rented at low rates on long-term leases to farmers, organized chiefly in two major settlement patterns, the cooperative villages (*moshavim*) and communal settlements (*kibbutzim*). The papers stimulated lively discussion. William H. Dusenberry of the University of Pittsburgh contributed a brief but clear summary of land reform in Mexico.

The expansion of historical interests has been signaled, too, by the growing interest in the relations of different cultures. Four sessions attempted to face this development.

Mary C. Wright, Yale University, presided over a session on the "Impact of Western Education in Asia." Robert K. Sakai, University of Nebraska, posed the question of Chinese and Western values in the conflict of cultures. He emphasized the revival of Confucianism on Taiwan since 1952 and concluded that Confucianists have not found a formula for the solution of the basic conflict between modernity and Chinese values that has haunted Chinese intellectual history for the past century. Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan, described the nineteenth-century British type of educational institutions in India, 1881-1921. He presented valuable statistical material on the numbers of students at various levels. He traced the essential new professions, the modernized old ones, and Indian nationalism itself to this group. Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University, specifically eschewed any reference to education in the broad sense, but presented an account of the influence of French-type schools on the Turks from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. He concluded that the Turks felt less of the influence of these schools than any other population of the Ottoman Empire. George Z. F. Bereday, Columbia University, as commentator, thought the treatment was both too broad and too narrow. It was too broad in the sense that many "Wests" were referred to rather indiscriminately. At the same time, he argued that comparisons were meaningless unless the contemporary picture was also studied. His final point was that no Asian country had ever wanted anything from the West except in self-defense and concluded with a passionate prediction of the Toynbean resurgence of Eastern values in the future.

The joint session with the Conference Group for Central European History, under the chairmanship of Hajo Holborn, Yale University, was devoted to the discussion of "Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism in Central Europe." Oscar J. Hammen, Montana State University, described the attitude of Marx and Engels toward the Slav nations. They judged Russia as the chief barrier to revolution and Polish freedom as the best way to remove Russian influence. Since the large states were in the vanguard of historical progress, the nationalism of the small Slav nationalities of southeastern Europe was obnoxious. Hans Kohn, City College of New York, dealt with the Central European origins of the concept of Pan-Slavism and showed that it had little effect on Russian foreign policy or even on the rela-

tions of the western Slavs among themselves though it fomented strong Russophile sentiments among the Ruthenians and Czechs. William A. Jenks, Washington and Lee University, concentrated on the weakness of the Pan-German party movements in Austria prior to 1918. The German nationalism of the Liberals and the Hapsburg *mystique* thwarted the Pan-German irredentism. Robert A. Kann, Rutgers University, commented that the indirect influences of both Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism on the transformation of the thought of the national and party movements in the Hapsburg Empire were significant. Michael B. Petrovich, University of Wisconsin, emphasized and illustrated the difference between Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism, the latter being more artificial because of the great diversity of the Slav nations, races, and languages.

The impact of the Glorious Revolution in the American colonies was the issue of the session "1689: The First American Revolution." Carl Bridenbaugh, University of California at Berkeley, presided. Richard S. Dunn of the University of Pennsylvania considered "The Pattern of Revolution." Perhaps the best way to sum up the Revolution of 1689 in the colonies "is to call it a half-way revolution." The colonists demanded the liberties taken away by Charles II and James I, but did not "challenge their new dependent status within the Empire." Michael G. Hall, University of Texas, examined "The Revolutionary Settlement." He found a merchant or planter group in each colony aiming at control of provincial government, but declined to label the revolts as *coups d'état* by mercantile interests; rather, the common elements were fear of French aggression and popery. Even more important was the attachment of the colonists to the privileges enunciated in the Bill of Rights. Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College, commented by undertaking an examination of the term "revolution." Pointing out what might be called Tolles's Law—that "revolution" had been stretched to cover any kind of a minor or major change—he declined to see 1689 as a revolution in America. Certainly it could not be compared for momentous consequences with the American Revolution or the Civil War. Since it had lost its uniqueness, Tolles thought we could speak of the "law of the proliferation of univities." The discussion, in which the imperial school (descendants of C. M. Andrews) predominated, disliked the tendency of the papers to soft-pedal the imperial outlook.

In a session deceptively entitled "Innocence Abroad: American-European Relations at the Turn of the Century" over which Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University presided, Morton Keller, University of Pennsylvania, spoke on "The American Life Insurance Companies in Europe." Of all American business ventures on the Continent around 1900, none surpassed those organizations in size, technique, and success. Their very success, however, engendered resistance by domestic firms and European governments against which the State Department offered little help. Unflattering revelations of irregularities in the United States after 1905 and the chaos of the First World War ended this bold, pioneering venture of American corporate enterprise in Europe. Turning from the private sector to the public, Waldo Heinrichs, Johns Hopkins University, discussed in "American Prestige Diplomacy" the experience of a newly professional corps of diplomatic secretaries. Drawing heavily but not exclusively upon the career of Joseph C. Grew, he found the social experience of these able young men limited to the top rungs of society in the lands to which they were accredited and their

reporting insensitive to the realities of European politics. The superficiality of their work was explained by the type of education they had received at home and by their typically American attitude toward world affairs. The two commentators, John A. DeNovo of Pennsylvania State University and Charles Vevier of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, provided a basis for appraising the two disparate papers and, by different methods, went far to question the appropriateness of the title given to the session.

As a final type of historical blend, three sessions considered questions that required the application of different fields of history.

The joint session with the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies on "The Russian Intelligentsia: Social Background and Ideology," with Richard Pipes of Harvard University presiding, brought both social and intellectual history to bear. Martin Malia, University of California at Berkeley, argued that the social and institutional unity of the Russian intelligentsia in 1840-1870 was supplied by their belonging to one or another liberal profession in a country where these professions lacked the base of an economic middle class. This factor explains their adoption of rationalistic, Western ideologies aiming at transforming Russian society into a more uniform, liberal, and democratic one. Leopold H. Haimson, University of Chicago, analyzed the results of the Menshevik effort to create at the beginning of the twentieth century a working-class intelligentsia. Evidence that he presented indicated that these efforts failed because workers who acquired the characteristics of an intelligentsia soon isolated themselves from the main body of their fellow workers, many of whom fell under the influence of Bolshevik agitators. The discussants, George Kline and Daniel Bell, both of Columbia University, questioned and amplified particular points of this paper.

The reciprocal influences of religious and art history was the theme of the joint session with the American Society for Reformation Research, "The Reformation and the Arts." E. Harris Harbison, Princeton University, was in the chair. In a paper on "The Attitudes of the Major Reformers toward Music," Charles Garside, Jr., Yale University, contrasted Zwingli, who excluded music from the liturgy, and Calvin, who limited the use of music to settings of the Psalms, with Luther, who considered music a vehicle of the word and encouraged its creative development. Characteristic results were the Genevan Psalter and the Lutheran Chorale. In his comment, Walter L. Woodfill, University of Delaware, questioned the effect of the Reformation on secular music. He concluded that later Calvinists considered music "a thing indifferent" and so did little to encourage its growth. In an illustrated paper on "The Reformation and the Visual Arts," Guido Schoenberger of the Jewish Museum called attention to "proto-Protestant" tendencies toward simplification and individualism in Christian art before Luther, then analyzed the painting of Dürer, Cranach, and Grünewald, and the church architecture of the seventeenth century, with a view to suggesting the balance of old and new elements in the development of Protestant iconography and the Protestant pulpit-church. Probing beyond iconography, Erwin Panofsky, Institute for Advanced Study, inquired in his comment whether there was any "kind of consubstantiality" between Protestantism and its later art forms. Tentatively, he found this consubstantiality in two elements of "the hyperborean outlook" of Protestantism: individualism and introspectiveness.

The session "Economic Depression of the Renaissance," for which Wallace K. Ferguson, University of Western Ontario, acted as chairman, was designed as a contribution to the discussion on the relation of the economic and cultural cycles of the Renaissance. Robert S. Lopez, Yale University, was the principal speaker. After expressing his belief that the thesis of economic depression during the Renaissance was now becoming more generally accepted, Lopez proceeded to circumscribe the limits within which the debate might be profitably carried on. He noted that usable data on per capita income or productivity are practically non-existent and he proposed to offer statistics only on over-all figures of population, production, capital, and trade. Harry Miskimin, Yale University, then projected on the screen graphs which he and Lopez had prepared, demonstrating the economic trends in these respects in a variety of places and goods during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In her comment, Sylvia Thrupp, University of Chicago, discussed the methodological value of comparative studies for the assessment of relative economic growth or decline. Raymond de Roover of Boston College and William B. Watson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology both added further illustrative material, largely supporting the thesis of Lopez and Miskimin.

Of the seven specialized sessions addressed to the American historian, three had reference to the Civil War, to commemorate its centennial.

At the annual dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by Paul W. Gates, Cornell University, Avery Craven of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University spoke on "The Fatal Predicament." Out of a lifetime of research on the South, its agricultural problems centering on staple crops and slavery, the forces making for disunion in both the North and the South, particularly the radical antislavery agitators of the North and the equally radical disunionists of the South, he applied mature judgment to the widening chasm that led to the Civil War. He concentrated once more upon those divisive forces which created deeply emotional feelings and which were aggravated by newspaper distortions of Kansas outrages, the John Brown raid on Harper's Ferry, and the hyperbole used in indicting both sides. Conservative influences, strong as they were, appeared thrust aside in the period of confusion and uncertainty following the election of 1860; radicals were in control of both sides, and their activities led to war.

The session on "Internal Politics of the Civil War" was presided over by E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia. Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, compared law making in the Union and Confederate Congresses and held that the Union Congress, in which for the first time the Republicans were in the majority, pursued a much broader program than the Confederates did. It "not only undertook to pass the necessary legislation, but soon sought to assume functions in administering the war." After the first year the efficiency of the Confederate Congress declined. Nichols concluded that Confederate congressmen and the South as a whole "really did not want to destroy the Union but to readjust it" for their own safety. In his comment, Kenneth M. Stampp, University of California at Berkeley, suggested that it might not be too startling to conclude that final defeat on the battlefields could be laid to the same cause. May S. Ringold,

Clemson College, in her paper on "Law Making in the Confederate States," confined her discussion to the legislative bodies of the several states. With states' rights dogmas entrenched in the South, these bodies took on a broader scope of leadership and attempted to fill the vacuum made by the withdrawal of federal power and the absence of action by the Confederate Congress with its restricted views. Eric L. McKittrick of Columbia University agreed, but suggested that to bolster the Confederacy there were other forces which could have been called into play beyond "money, credit, and industrial productivity," the lack of which Mrs. Ringold said forced the South to "build only with straw."

"The Churches during the Civil War" furnished the subject for the joint session with the American Church History Society. Jerald C. Brauer, University of Chicago, presided. William A. Clebsch, Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, concentrated on two Protestant theologians, Horace Bushnell and Philip Schaff, who eschewed the common theological interpretations of the conflict in terms of moral judgment, slavery, and etiology. Conrad Wright of Harvard University presented profiles of three Unitarian ministers as representative of distinct positions against slavery within the body of Unitarian ministers: Samuel J. May, the abolitionist; Henry W. Bellows, the free-soil moderate; and Orville Dewey, the even more moderate free-soiler. Wright concluded by questioning the tendency of historians to judge by the standard of antislavery orthodoxy and recommended as criteria the qualities of human sympathy and efficacy in educating congregations to the moral issue in slavery. Sydney Ahlstrom, Yale University, amplified the historiographical implications for the later nineteenth century of the opposing scientific and organicistic interpretations discussed in Clebsch's paper. Sidney B. Mead, Southern California School of Theology, commented on the papers.

A session on the American colonies, under the chairmanship of Lawrence H. Gipson of Lehigh University, dealt with "The Losers in America, 1760-1790." David L. Jacobson, University of California at Davis, distinguished between what he called the prewar "Tory factions," made up of small numbers of conservatively inclined people, and the great body of wartime Loyalists. The Tories in some instances were reformers, like Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania. They were, nevertheless, strongly opposed to measures taken by popular leaders that were held to be unwarranted under the constitution of the British Empire. Forrest McDonald, Brown University, in his paper on "The Anti-Federalists, 1781-1789," illustrated the difficulty of classifying those who opposed a stronger central government upon the basis of political geography or even of wealth or education. Many factors contributed to favor state supremacy. People living in areas devastated by the late war, those who had served in the Continental Congress or as officers in the Continental Army, were apt to support a strong central government. As commentator, Douglass Adair, Claremont Graduate School, raised the pertinent question of the propriety of the term "Tory" for the designation of those persons who refused to follow the radical American leaders before 1775.

On the early national period of American history, Dwight L. Dumond, University of Michigan, presided over the session "Strategy of Social Reform." David B. Davis, Cornell University, spoke on the topic "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Anti-Slavery." It was a study of the early ideological

stage of a specific reform movement. Eleanor Flexner, Northampton, Massachusetts, discussed "Changing Tactics in the Women's Suffrage Movement." It was a summary of the final stage of a reform process. Davis concentrated on subtle distinctions in the use of the term "gradualism," viewing the American Colonization Society as an agency of gradual emancipation and emphasizing the influence of property rights, fear of slave revolts, and resistance to reform as factors in the transition to immediatism. Miss Flexner categorically stated that the failure of the suffragists to acquire political knowledge and skills delayed achievement of full women's suffrage. In his comment, Alexander Murray of the University of Alberta emphasized that reforms reveal an early ideological stage when ends, not means, are the chief concern of reformers, and a final stage when discussion, having created an ideology, gives way to methods of achievement. Miss Flexner's failure to pay attention to the first resulted in undue emphasis upon the lack of political experience, organization, and strategy as retarding factors, when in reality they appeared as the reform reached the active political stage. Betty Fladeland, Central Missouri State College, also emphasized that reforms begin with the idealistic approach. Failure to recognize the extent of public apathy and institutional solidarity leads to bitter experiences and the emergence of concrete planning and detailed organization. Miss Fladeland believed Davis dismissed too lightly these lessons of experience in the antislavery movement before 1830.

For the post-bellum period, the session on "Political Attitudes of the New South," under the chairmanship of Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky, presented political conservatism as its central theme. Francis B. Simkins, Longwood College, maintained that the southern Bourbons, the group of conservative southern leaders of 1875-1890, "left a lasting record of achievements greater than that of any generation of southerners since the founding fathers of the Republic." The aberration of the Populist movement temporarily overthrew their power, but Bourbonism, whose essential element was the politicians' efforts to develop southern resources by bringing northern capital into the region, is stronger in the South today than ever before. Kenneth K. Bailey, Texas Western College, dealt with the role of the Methodist and Baptist churches in the South in defeating Alfred Smith during the campaign of 1928. The organized effort of the churches formed "the moving force" in the anti-Smith campaign. Bailey minimized the effect of religious intolerance in the campaign and emphasized the prohibition issue. In his comment on the papers Dewey Grantham of Vanderbilt University cited Simkins' early publications in refutation of the conclusions of his paper. He attempted a balanced view of the Bourbons, who on the one hand promoted the economic development of their region and aided in the process of sectional reconciliation, but on the other hand enriched themselves by political power, failed to adjust the tax burden fairly, neglected education and social services, and fastened on the southern states the one-party system.

The joint session with the American Jewish Historical Society, under the chairmanship of Abram Kanof, in the absence of Bertram W. Korn, was devoted to a consideration of "The Role of the Jews in American Life." Moses Rischin, Cambridge, Massachusetts, spoke on the relationship of American Jews to the nation's liberal or democratic tradition. He concluded that the role of American Jews could not easily be distinguished from that of other groups in the colonial

era or in the nineteenth century, but that this role was distinctive in the twentieth century. Stanley L. Falk of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, challenged Rischin's thesis, pointing to examples of Jewish liberalism in earlier periods and to aspects of Jewish conservatism in the twentieth century. Rabbi Abraham J. Karp, Rochester, New York, suggested a Jewish religious motivation for the liberalism of Jews in America.

Two sessions were devoted exclusively to English history. "The Idea of Party in the Writing of English History" formed the common topic of three papers at a session over which Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr College presided. Robert Walcott, the College of Wooster, described the classic and familiar idea of party found in Macaulay and his successors as involving the acceptance of a corporate continuity from the Whigs and Tories of the reign of Charles II to the liberals and conservatives of the Victorian age. Walcott would substitute for this four major divisions with a number of groups within each of these. Day-to-day developments may be more satisfactorily interpreted in a multiparty framework. Jacob M. Price, University of Michigan, contrasted Namier's dynamic analytical method with Butterfield's interpretive approach. Criticism of the first was directed at a concentration on selected parliamentary action which ignored the passage of all but a fragment of bills and paid scant attention to both provincial pressures and business interests in the boroughs. Criticism of the second was based on the exaggerated historical teleology. In Parliament, Price maintained that three groups, court and administration, country gentlemen, and politicians, needed direction both by a skilled man of business and by a powerful orator. William O. Aydelotte, State University of Iowa, discussed the generally accepted immaturity even of the party system of mid-nineteenth-century England, but found that the parties had greatly advanced.

The joint session with the Conference on British Studies, under the chairmanship of William L. Sachse, University of Wisconsin, concentrated on a re-evaluation of "Restoration Statesmanship." Maurice Lee, Jr., University of Illinois, presented a reassessment of the role of the Earl of Arlington in English foreign policy. Arlington was consistently anti-French; when he was at last compelled to negotiate an Anglo-French alliance he did all he could to sabotage it, and after the framing of the Treaty of Dover he tried to prevent war with the Dutch. Not a successful statesman, his failures stemmed from lack of foresight and inability to convince King Charles, rather than from lack of policy or sycophancy. Paul H. Hardacre, Vanderbilt University, noting that Clarendon remains an indistinct figure among English statesmen, concentrated on contemporary views of Clarendon's personality, his role as a patron of letters, and his reputation as a judge. His irascibility, lack of tact, censorious manner, and tendency to be overbearing and annoyingly avuncular contributed to his downfall in 1667, while his conduct on the bench was generally esteemed by contemporaries, and his support of letters and learning, sponsorship of learned works, and encouragement of authors merited and won admiration. In his comment, Willson Coates, University of Rochester, stated that Lee's reading of Charles's Catholicity as a tactical device may be the only way to make sense of a complicated diplomatic game. He suggested that Arlington's concern for public and parliamentary approval may have sprung from a genuine Whig conviction. As for Clarendon, Coates commended Hardacre's re-

construction, but questioned whether Clarendon's irascibility may not have arisen from the frustrations of exile and the difficulties of his association with two Stuart monarchs.

French history was the topic of two sessions. J. Russell Major was chairman for a session on "Crown and State in Medieval and Early Modern France." Fredric Cheyette, Stanford University, pointed out that during the fourteenth century the French ecclesiastics brought many disputes concerning benefices and other rights before parlement. Thus royal power was extended into ecclesiastical affairs, but in affirming itself through law, the royal power affirmed its own limitations. Herbert H. Rowen, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, argued that the dynastic character of the French monarchy of the Old Regime cannot be understood except on the basis that public power, symbolized by the crown, was held by kings as a species of family property. He then related this idea to the royal right of taxation and the wars of succession during the reign of Louis XIV. In his comments, Martin Wolfe, University of Pennsylvania, questioned the theses of both papers.

At a meeting on "Religion in Eighteenth-Century France," papers were read by David D. Bien, Princeton University, and Warren C. Scoville, University of California at Los Angeles, with comments by Frank E. Manuel, Brandeis University, and with Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University, as chairman. Both papers dealt with Protestantism and its place in French thought and society in the century preceding the Revolution. Bien maintained that intolerance of Protestants was increasingly due less to religious than to political feeling, since Protestants were identified with their predecessors of the period of the Wars of Religion and the Comisard troubles and as such were feared as a menace to law and order. Scoville attacked the idea that the persecution of Protestants had adversely affected the French economy, showing that many businesses had remained and prospered under Protestant ownership in the eighteenth century and that the disabilities suffered by Protestants even contributed to their economic success and importance. Manuel thought that Bien might have underestimated the actual change in religious sentiment and growth of humane feeling in about 1760 and that Scoville might have left an exaggerated impression of the indirect advantage of "penalization" to a minority group.

For German historians there was the session on "Germany's Pre-World War I Generation," for which William O. Shanahan, University of Oregon, acted as chairman. Mario Domandi, Vassar College, observed that the youth movement in Wilhelmian Germany manifested in yet another way the climate of social uneasiness felt increasingly in the German Empire around the turn of the century. In the youth movement, a segment of urban youth, predominantly from burgher families, found a way to express its rejection of the Wilhelmian style of family life with its coercive discipline and rigid etiquette. The youth movement yearned for a new Germany formed out of the "whole community," with ideals more vital, instinctive, and free than those of the old Germany. Fritz Ringer, Harvard University, identified the Wilhelmian university professors as the chief prop of the pre-1914 German structure of values, particularly its respect for aristocracy, its national pride, and its confidence in German cultural superiority. By and large, university professors became spokesmen for an aristocratic upper-middle-class elite

that constituted the "Wilhelmian Establishment." Yet the recruitment of professors from upper-middle-class ranks and their preferment as high-ranking civil servants widened the gap between them and the nation. In his comment, Klaus Epstein, Brown University, strove to identify the larger social and political significance of the pre-1914 youth movement. He also took exception to Ringer's attempt to identify Wilhelmian academicians with the aims and interests of the princely governments, insisting that some measure of the German scholars' vaunted objectivity clung to their estimate of the contemporary situation.

A session sponsored jointly with the Society for Italian Historical Studies presented a neglected field. H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University presided in place of Max Salvadori, Smith College, over a session on "New and Old in the Italian Enlightenment." Eric Cochrane, University of Chicago, spoke on the roles of the French influence and Italian traditions in the Tuscan Enlightenment. Donald A. Limoli, Rutgers University, discussed the eighteenth-century reformers in Lombardy, with special reference to Milan. George Romani of Northwestern University was the commentator.

In the field of ancient history, the session on "Roman Internal Security," with Chester G. Starr, University of Illinois, as chairman, showed that the basic character of the Roman Empire may still be viewed in diametrically opposed lights. J. F. Gilliam, State University of Iowa, discussed "The Roman Army and Imperial Administration," pointing out that the army was used incidentally for internal pacification and also to provide personnel for civil administration. One special group of army personnel, the *frumentarii*, was analyzed as "The Roman Secret Service" by William G. Sinnigen, University of California at Berkeley. Robert S. Rogers of Duke University, on the other hand, presented the concluding paper, "Freedom of Speech in the Empire—Nero," in partial substantiation of his general concept that the Empire was a rule of law and that the emperors did not punish verbal opposition. In the commentary by Stewart Irvin Oost, University of Chicago, considerable reserves were suggested on the last view. At the close of the session brief attention was given to the problems of training ancient historians in an era of little Latin and less Greek.

Two attractions were offered the medievalists. The joint session with the American Committee of the International Commission for the Study of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions presented two studies of "Attorneyship and Representation in Thirteenth-Century Europe," with Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, in the chair. Thomas N. Bisson, Brown University, read a paper on "The Origins of Procurator in Languedoc." He pointed out that the use of corporate proctors was common in Languedoc by the middle of the thirteenth century, but that the royal government did not require delegates to southern assemblies to have full powers as proctors. He doubted that there was a close connection between the development of procurator and the beginnings of representation in the south of France. The paper of Donald Queller, University of Southern California, on "Attorneyship in Ambassadorial Relations in the Thirteenth Century" showed that the introduction of procurators with full powers speeded up diplomatic processes, since procurators, unlike the earlier *nuncii*, could conclude binding agreements.

At the annual dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America, where S. Harri-

son Thomson of the University of Colorado presided, the address by Archibald R. Lewis, University of Texas, analyzed the unusual power and authority possessed by women in the society of southern France and Catalonia in the High Middle Ages. This distinctive feature was not new, but had deep roots in earlier practices and social developments in this part of Europe. The later troubadour cult of the lady, then, merely reflected the actual social conditions found south of the Loire and represented a tribute to the women of this region, which is in accord with their actual power and authority over southern French and Catalan society.

For the historians of Eastern Europe, Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University, presided over the luncheon of the Conference on Slavic and East European History, which heard Philip E. Mosely, Director of Studies of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, speak on "Some Unfinished Business in Russian Studies." After describing the feeble position of Slavic studies in 1938, when the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies was established, Mosely paid tribute to the very considerable achievement made in training young men and women, in publication, in building libraries, and in expanding and improving instruction concerning Russia and Eastern Europe throughout this country. Mosely then outlined some of the remaining problems. Some disciplines, such as fine arts, music, sociology, and law, are still almost as weak as they were twenty years ago. The relations between American scholars and scholars in other countries need to be improved. Finally, no training program in the country has yet been able to establish a really interdisciplinary program.

For Latin American historians, the luncheon of the Conference on Latin American History, with Irving Leonard of the University of Michigan as chairman, took up a similar theme. In his address Stanley J. Stein, Princeton University, illuminated "The Tasks Ahead for Latin American Historians." He evaluated the problems raised by "maldistribution and underutilization of land and other natural resources, economic nationalism, the inadequacy of parliamentary government," and called upon his colleagues to examine more closely the dynamic interrelationships of landed estates, industrial growth, regional specialization, urbanization, the role of United States economic penetration, and the intervention of the state in the economic sphere since the end of the eighteenth century. While his emphasis was economic, Stein stressed the need for closer study of the political power of elite groups and their failure to meet the challenges of the twentieth-century revolutionary "participation of the masses in the political process." Appropriately enough, Stein was rewarded for his efforts by becoming the recipient of the Robertson Prize for his article on "The Historiography of Brazil: 1808-1889." John Tate Lanning, Duke University, awarded the Bolton Prize to Chairman Leonard for his book *Baroque Times in Old Mexico*.

At the luncheon of the Conference on Asian History, where Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, served as chairman, Amiya Chakravarty of Boston University initiated the Tagore centennial by recalling Tagore's devotion to world peace and to greater understanding between East and West.

During their luncheon, the Society of American Archivists saw the chairman, Philip M. Hamer, Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission, present to former President Harry S. Truman a certificate of honorary life membership in the society. In an informal speech of acceptance, Truman said

that he was "kind of a nut on public records" and urged the preservation and publication of papers of the Presidents of the United States and other papers important for understanding the history of the United States. The principal address, "In My Father's House Are Many Mansions," was read by Walter Muir Whitehill, Director of the Boston Athenæum. This was a commentary of some of Whitehill's experiences and observations while making a personal survey of historical societies and related organizations throughout the United States. He visited many organizations of widely varied character and found them engaged in a multitude of history-related activities.

The Association's annual dinner, the occasion for the presidential address, was attended by about three hundred historians and by about a thousand others who appeared later for the address. In his "With How Little Wisdom . . .," President Bernadotte Schmitt surveyed his research and publications on the diplomatic history of the two great modern wars (see *AHR* [Jan. 1961], 299-322) and shared his mature reflections on what had happened during fifty years of diplomacy. Before he spoke, Boyd C. Shafer announced the prizes of the Association for 1960: the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize—Caroline Robbins (Bryn Mawr College), *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*; the George Louis Beer Prize—Rudolph Binion (Columbia University), *Defeated Leaders: The Political Fate of Caillaux, Jouvenel and Tardieu*; the Albert J. Beveridge Award—Clarence C. Clendenen (Menlo School and College), "The United States and Pancho Villa"; the John H. Dunning Prize—Eric L. McKittrick (Columbia University), *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction*; the Watumull Prize—Michael Brecher (McGill University), *Nehru: A Political Biography*. Paul Kieffer, President of the Century Association and long-time friend of President Schmitt, delightfully introduced him. S. William Halperin presented him a volume, *Some Twentieth-Century Historians*, by eleven of his former students.

This is the customary place for expressions of thanks by the Program Chairman, but the annual repetition should not obscure the originality of the appreciation which each incumbent feels. The gifts of ideas, energy, and time of the colleagues on his committee; the unfailing encouragement, help, and understanding of Boyd Shafer; the patient and loyal support of his home department—these are the goods which each holder of this office savors anew, and certainly the 1960 occupant has known them in fullest measure. Together, we have striven to pose the kind of challenge and to achieve the kind of balance which, in conjunction, might call forth all that is vital in our profession.

Yale University

LEONARD KRIEGER

The Year's Business, 1960

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1960

They who twenty, thirty, or more years ago gave form to our father's memories of the past determined in large part the shape of our present. They who now

recover and teach about our past will determine in large part the contours of our future, twenty, thirty, or more years from now. Because we are the discoverers and transmitters of knowledge of the past, our responsibility has become as great as that of king or philosopher.

The ideas of Americans today are basically those they learned from their fathers. Their ideas are also those they acquired or refined in school and college. As they have listened and read, they have gained from historians, usually indirectly, some knowledge of how America developed, and they have formed attitudes and ideals now called American. George Bancroft's Jacksonian patriotism and belief in progress are firmly engrained in the American character. School courses in history are still expected to inculcate patriotism. Not until 1960 did a candidate for major office dare to question the inevitability of American progress. We still illustrate proper moral conduct by telling Parson Weems's cherry tree fable. Our present views of puritanism are largely derived from Vernon Parrington and James Truslow Adams. When Mr. Truman was President of the United States, he saw the duties of his office through the history he learned as a boy in Missouri, and when he left this great office, he established a library for the study of the presidency. The President-elect of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, when he was a senator, published *Profiles in Courage*, studies of the heroes of the American Congress which he thought would "teach . . . offer hope . . . provide inspiration." Will he sometime in the future, for he is young, publish a volume on "Presidents of Courage"? Since at least 1912, since Frederick Jackson Turner's concept became generally known, every major candidate for office in the United States has spoken of new frontiers. These might be called the "New Freedom," "New Nationalism," the "New Deal," or refer to science and technology and outer space. The imaginative concept of the Wisconsin historian set the vision, coined the catch phrase. Will the new Vice-President from Texas be speaking not only of the "Great Plains" but also of the "Great Frontier"?

The influence of the past upon us all is self-evident, but the influence of the study of history, of the historians, upon our civilization is not so obvious. We must not overemphasize our importance. I remember a sentence from a student's letter written during a history class, "While that blankety-blank history professor is popping off, I want to tell you about the fight we had after homecoming game." We know that few of our political leaders are well grounded in history. While the last Congress contained two Ph.D.'s in history, it is four decades since two historians, Woodrow Wilson and Henry Cabot Lodge, dominated the political scene. Not since 1912 and 1924 have prominent statesmen been Presidents of the AHA. Still, no one escapes remembrance of things past, and many people are interested in history and historical study. The establishment by Congress of the National Archives and of the National Historical Publications Commission, which have promoted historical work in so many ways, is one evidence. The popularity of *American Heritage* is another. While it is true that the public is more interested in romantic history than in scholarly analysis, while it is true that many college students "take" history only because the subject is required or are interested only in that anomaly called "current" history, the public does support serious historical study in colleges and universities and to a limited degree in national and local government. More important, the ideas held by Americans about their nation are

largely those held by scholars twenty, thirty, or more years ago. We should not underestimate the importance of what we teach and write.

Our scholarly books, with rare exceptions, do not sell well, and commercial publishers seldom accept them. Yet university presses publish dozens of them each year, and older ones are being increasingly reprinted. The subscribers to all our scholarly magazines do not nearly equal those of *Life*. Yet the *AHR*, the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, the *Journal of Modern History*, the *Journal of Southern History*, the *Pacific Historical Review*, the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, the *Iowa Journal of History*, and some fifty or sixty other historical journals reach thousands of Americans, and some of them read some of the articles, most of the book reviews, and the historical news. In the *AHR*, which went to about eleven thousand subscribers and members in 1959-1960, we publish the presidential address, twelve articles, nine "Notes and Suggestions," reviews and notices of over six hundred books, long bibliographical lists of articles, and news. And our readers ask us for more, especially for more of the broad, interpretive essays we have been emphasizing!

In our secondary schools over three million students are studying American or other history. It is the more than 25,000 teachers of these studies whom we are, through the work of George Carson and our Service Center, trying to help with our successful pamphlets (distribution now over 325,000), our consultant service, and our conferences. Accurate late statistics are not available for any educational activity, but on the basis of estimates we may guess that about thirteen thousand B.A. degrees are being granted in history every year, about fourteen hundred M.A. degrees, and over three hundred Ph.D.'s. To teach all the college and university students enrolled in history courses, up to 8,500 instructors may be presently employed.

For history, for us, there is a large audience, and we are training our successors. In 1984 our successors' successors may say that we performed poorly. They cannot say that we did not have a chance.

If, as we believe, intelligent understanding of history is vital to individual and nation, our task is enormous. The real test for us will be in the way people in 1980-1990 think and how they meet their problems. In what terms will the candidates of 1984 address the nation as they speak of the "difficult and challenging years ahead," as they ask for a "supreme national effort"? Will they be intelligently informed by history and see their present in terms of the past as they construct their platforms and as they address the people? And will the people understand them, elect them if they do?

What will we present-day historians pass on to the future? Some of our knowledge, some of our views, we may be sure; our method of viewing problems, we may hope.

As historians we have shown little systematic interest in philosophy in either of the two senses in which the term is used in our discipline: the ultimate meaning of history and methodological theory. While H. G. Wells, Oswald Spengler, and Arnold Toynbee have interpreted the past to mean progress, decline, or stimulus and reaction, working historians in the United States have gone on to write their monographs or to teach without much attention to ultimates. And while Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Jacques Maritain have attempted to

find moral and religious meanings in history, few of us have read their works or have cared deeply about their conclusions. Most of us no longer believe that we can arrive at any metaphysical or teleological explanations, or that we can evolve any historical generalizations or laws (as did Cheyney) that will be valid for all times and places. Seldom do we even dare, as did William Langer in his presidential address of 1957, to present new hypotheses for understanding men's actions. Since Beard's somewhat inconclusive attempts in the 1930's to bring recent German philosophic concepts to America, few of us have broached new philosophic hypotheses of any kind. We have modified Turner's frontier hypothesis (with Benjamin Wright, for example) or enlarged it (with Walter Prescott Webb or Merle Curti) but we have not replaced it. We have forgotten the "new history" of James Harvey Robinson, though we have accepted intellectual history. We have, as Crane Brinton and Richard Hofstadter have demonstrated, been able to see anew with concepts borrowed from other disciplines. But we have not had Lamprechts, Diltheys, Webers, Croces, or for that matter a Vico or a Marx. Perhaps a change is coming. Vann Woodward's article in the October 1960 *Review* reveals a wide interest in interpretation as a new age demands historical answers and as the historical process accelerates. Perhaps, too, as Stuart Hughes points out in the same issue of the *Review*, we may find new, fuller, and more imaginative answers to our questions as we link literature and science. But to the future we will bequeath primarily that pragmatic, empirical, and relativistic philosophy which we seldom take time to discuss. Perhaps this approach is all we can or should will to 1984. One can only wonder. Events, present or forthcoming, will force us to reappraise the past that in itself is unchangeable, but in our minds and for our day may contain different useful meanings. Perhaps new philosophic approaches could provide enlarged or at least different understandings.

As we have almost refused to philosophize, so also have we almost stopped trying to do big multivolumed works or large syntheses. Edward Channing was the last to attempt a complete history of the United States from the sources; he died in his seventy-fifth year after he finished his sixth volume, *The War for Southern Independence*. Lawrence Gipson is now revising his giant history of *The British Empire before the American Revolution*. Allan Nevins is at work on his monumental *The Ordeal of the Union*. Samuel Eliot Morison has completed his magnificent *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*. And Louis Gottschalk's definitive biography of the "hero" of two worlds, Lafayette, has reached its fourth volume. We have seen in recent years the broad interpretive works of Walter Prescott Webb on *The Great Frontier* and of Robert Palmer on *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* and big biographies of famous Americans. Irving Brant has just finished his sixth and last volume on Madison; from Dumas Malone we may expect more volumes on Jefferson; Arthur Link has recently published Volume III of his *Wilson*, and Frank Freidel and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., have each published three volumes of their multivolumed biographies on Franklin Roosevelt. We are also witnessing large and definitive editions of the papers of famous Americans, not only those of Jefferson, the Adams family, and of Franklin, but also those of Calhoun, Clay, Wilson, General Marshall, and others. The present, however, is not a time of many large or broad works by individual historians.

The historical materials are too voluminous, our individual lives too short, our methods of working too slow, our tools too blunt.

Today we chiefly do monographic studies, analytical treatises on limited and particular subjects. We dig deeply but narrowly. Most of us can do no other, and we give rewards and status to the men who do them well. The Association's awards, for example, the Adams, Beer, Beveridge, Dunning, Tyler, and Watumull Prizes, nearly always go to superior monographic works or single-volume biographies. The chairmen of the committees this year, Henry Winkler, Robert Byrnes, Richard Current, Charles Sellers, Stow Persons, and Robert Crane, would probably say, as previous chairmen have, that they had few other choices.

We can only hope that our specialized studies will add up in order that someday historians may write the big, general interpretive volumes. We believe that our knowledge adds up to something, though we are not always certain quite what.

As we proceed chiefly by specialization and only occasional synthesis, we deepen our factual knowledge of the past. The paramount purpose of our research, we agree, is the discovery of the truth about the past in so far as surviving records permit. We are not quite certain what truth is. After reading German historical philosophers or Becker's famous paper on "What Are Historical Facts?" we may not be able to say what a fact is. We aim, nevertheless, at nothing less than recovery of fact and arrival at truth. We firmly and energetically believe that we can obtain reliable information about the past and use this information to interpret the past. Our drive is ceaseless, our quest endless, but we proceed. What we are most convinced of is that we need to know so much more.

In our quest we hammer on the doors of libraries, archives, government agencies, and foundations for books, documents, and funds. We travel abroad, as did 170 Americans to the Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences at Stockholm in August, to become acquainted with our colleagues overseas and to enrich our understanding. We give our time to international organizations, as do Arthur Whitaker (Assembly) and I (Bureau) to the International Committee of Historical Sciences. We ask, with Charles Barker and the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, for publication of State Department documents and for archival guides.

Always the quest is endless. For most of us civilization began with the Greeks and flowed from around the Mediterranean northward and westward through Europe to the Americas. We now know much about the "West," so much that we know of yawning gaps in information and understanding. We are having to learn, much too late, of civilizations older and richer in some ways, in Asia, and of different important cultures that evolved even in darkest Africa. To help us with our understanding of South Asia the AHA is bringing, on the advice of Holden Furber's committee, three historians each year from Asia and Europe to teach in our universities. In African history we have yet to begin any significant activity.

From our studies we hope to acquire, if not universal knowledge, skill in the critical historical method, and in our teaching and our writing we hope to pass along knowledge of this method to others. We think of this method as a way of thinking, perhaps *the* way of thinking. We all define the method differently, but

it seems to include understanding of how to assemble materials and to judge them, of how to approach a problem in the context of flow and development, of how to see all the facets of a movement developing during the same time, of how to interpret evidence and arrive at approximation of what happened or was thought, of how to formulate hypotheses and arrive at generalizations and modify both as the evidence demands, and of how to make a meaningful narrative or analysis out of our studies. Here we still have something to learn from other disciplines, as the Social Science Research Council *Bulletin 64* shows, and we can expect to learn more when we have the report of the SSRC Committee on Historical Analysis headed by Louis Gottschalk.

We are now examining the training we give our graduate students. I expect that the informative volume on graduate training, basically prepared by John Snell working under the AHA committee headed by Dexter Perkins, will appear late this winter. I suppose, in addition, that it will soon be time to examine what we are doing on the undergraduate level, especially in our introductory courses. In all the natural sciences, in mathematics, and in foreign languages, revolutionary changes are occurring in the methods and objectives of teaching. Are they needed in history, to bring more of Asia and Africa into our ken, to sharpen our teaching, and to further inspire our students to use the critical historical method? I am quite certain that much of the new information we are acquiring will eventually and in some fashion become part of future thinking and help determine the shape of the future. I am not so sure that the individual ways of teaching and study we now follow will be used.

As the volume of historical materials geometrically progresses, our tasks of training for our own profession and for education of the public become frightening in size and complexity. Our tools and our methods are still the basically sound ones of the nineteenth century. Most of us want to continue in the old ways: the scholar in the library, alone, reading the books, examining the manuscripts, making his individual judgments with the evidence before him, publishing the results of his research in his own articles and books; the professor in the class and seminar room lecturing, teaching the truth as he independently sees it, talking to students as they talk to him, growing in wisdom and influence.

We may cooperate in research and write collaborative works, but we wish to work, think, and write as individuals, not as a team. We may teach a course with other teachers, but we want our own students and our own small classes. For this kind of lonely and wonderful research and teaching we can provide tools that facilitate study. This coming year the long-awaited *American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature* will appear. To George Howe, his committee, and his co-workers, we will owe a debt for years to come. Soon, too, the "Guide to Photocopied Materials" will appear. In spite of the difficulties encountered in the editing of the volume, this "Guide," prepared by Richard Hale, will be valuable to all who do research in primary sources. We need many new bibliographies, guides, and indexes, beyond those on British history now progressing under the guidance of our own Stanley Pargellis and a joint British-American group, beyond the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections which we long advocated and which the Library of Congress is preparing.

I personally do not look forward to a historian's study crammed with micro-

film reels, reading machines, IBM cards, and worse, a TV screen. Yet some of these aids are now with us and are proving useful. We have, for example, completed the microfilming of over eight million pages of German documents and will, perhaps, have screened, photographed, and indexed over twelve million pages by the time the German Documents Committee of Oron Hale and the team of screeners directed by Willard Fletcher complete their work next fall. I personally do not look forward to team research either. But I suppose that we will be forced, by the volume of records if for no other reason, to engage in some of it. Let us hope that it will not result in homogenized products.

When I try in a few minutes to report on the state of history in the nation, I am forced to generalize. What else are we bequeathing to the future? We no longer try to "debunk" as did a few historians of a generation or two ago, or to "glorify" as did many historians of two or three generations ago. We do try to give and often succeed in presenting a much more dispassionate and objective understanding of the past than did most historians of the nineteenth century, though perhaps we still have something to learn from Herodotus and Thucydides as well as other ancient historians. We have our biases, local and provincial. We are, we realize, time bound, and our views are, basically, those arising out of our own culture. We are, in a sense, all "historicists," perhaps unconsciously but nevertheless convinced that history determines culture and human development and that Friedrich Meinecke truly caught a revolutionary change in thinking of our time in his *Die Entstehung des Historismus*.

If I judge the state of mind of my fellows correctly, however, we are more interested in what we are doing than in how we are doing it. If our grandfathers and fathers obtained their knowledge of our colonial life and revolutionary period from the best historians of their or an earlier generation, they possibly read Jared Sparks, Justin Winsor, George Bancroft, John Fiske, Edward Channing, Herbert Osgood, George Beer, and, if they really kept up, Charles Andrews. Now, if I may choose but a few, we are reading Samuel Morison, Lawrence Gipson, Carl Bridenbaugh, and Edmund Morgan. On our early national period Henry Adams has yet to be completely superseded, many still read Charles Beard and Frederick Jackson Turner, and some John Bach McMaster and John Spencer Bassett. We now learn from Samuel Bemis, Irving Brant, Julian Boyd, Dumas Malone, Charles Wiltse, Richard McCormick, and Bray Hammond. On the Civil War, its precedents and its consequences, students formerly read James Ford Rhodes, John Burgess, William Dunning, Ulrich Phillips, and Ellis Oberholtzer. We now turn more often to James Randall, Allan Nevins, Roy Nichols, Kenneth Stampp, David Donald, and C. Vann Woodward. On recent history, on special economic and intellectual aspects of American life, the names of the fine historians we read are too numerous to mention. We do have better studies on recent history than any preceding age had on its recent past, and our economic and intellectual studies, relatively new fields, are incomparably superior to what used to be done.

What distinguishes the best of the newer historical studies? It is not style. Perhaps it is not the approximation of truth. It is depth of information, depth which comes from availability of sources and from study of more sources. Most of all it is the critical and analytical approach, the wider imaginative concepts and

understandings. Is all this clear gain? Well, not clear, but gain. If Parkman is no longer our guide, we know more about the trails to Oregon. But this is clearly not quite enough.

We have a responsibility beyond the discovery of historical information, beyond the critical study of the past. We like to call our study a humanity. We should not forget that the word has two meanings: the study of letters and the quality of being humane. A primary purpose of our study is to offer interpretations of the life of man—the dreams and the failures, the generousities and the brutalities, the tragedies and the comedies—and to make these interpretations so meaningful that our fellows will want to learn, and will learn, and will think historically.

This is the seventy-fifth meeting of the American Historical Association. The one hundredth anniversary of our Association, established by historians for the promotion of historical studies in America, will be in 1984. When in January 1985 a new President addresses the Congress on the State of the Union, will he be intelligently informed by history, will he use the historical approach? Will the Congress understand him if he does? Will the people? A perhaps crucial test of the effectiveness of the present Association and of its members will come twenty, thirty, or more years from now. We have here and now the awesome responsibility not of determining whether history is used in 1985 (for it will be), but of determining whether it will be intelligently used to inform thinking and to guide action.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, THE STATLER-HILTON HOTEL
NEW YORK, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 27, 1960, 10:00 A.M.

The following were present at the Council meeting: Bernadotte E. Schmitt, President; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Councilors Crane Brinton, Mildred L. Campbell, W. Clement Eaton, John Hope Franklin, W. Stull Holt, Frederic C. Lane, Gaines Post, and former Presidents William L. Langer and Dexter Perkins.

The Council approved the minutes of the 1959 meeting as published in the April 1960 issue of the *American Historical Review* (pages 761-68).

The report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor was not read as it had been sent to members of the Council. Instead he spoke on various activities and problems of the Association and the *Review*. The total membership of the Association, he stated, is almost 9,400 and the paid membership is over 8,700. The *Review* is now receiving over two hundred articles per year, an increase of over 100 per cent in seven years, and is reviewing from 550 to six hundred volumes a year, nearly twice as many as in 1953. He asked consideration of the pressing need for additional working space at headquarters and of the proposed constitutional amendment on membership dues. The Executive Secretary also discussed the Eleventh International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Stockholm, stressing the problems of international historical congresses in a world of ideological

conflict, and he mentioned his election to the Bureau of the ICHS and Arthur Whitaker's to the Assembly.

The Treasurer, Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, discussed the finances of the Association and gave his report for 1959-1960. He indicated that the finances were in good condition, though expenses were mounting and income for specific purposes would decrease during the next year or so. The Council accepted his report. The Treasurer also presented a bylaw concerning the endowment fund of the Association; after considerable discussion the following was adopted:

All sums realized as income from life membership and contributions to the endowment, as in the past, shall be placed in the endowment fund, an effort being made to include in this any such funds received in the past and not placed in the endowment fund. Income from this fund is available without restriction for the purposes of the Association. The principal may not be used.

Funds arising from operating surpluses shall at the Council's direction be invested in "General Accounts-unrestricted." Income from this fund is available without restriction for the purposes of the Association. By authorization of the Council and the Board of Trustees, portions of the principal may be reinvested in fixed assets of the Association, real property, improvements, equipment, etc., or transferred to the endowment fund.

For the Finance Committee, both the Treasurer and Executive Secretary presented the budget for 1960-1961 and a proposed tentative budget for 1961-1962. The Council approved the budgets with provision for slight overages in 1959-1960 and with three minor changes in proposed expenditures for 1960-1961 and 1961-1962. The Council expressed satisfaction with the clarity and organization of the report. Later the Council approved additional sums for the budget of the Local Arrangements Committee in 1961 and gave its approval for further discussions on enlargement of the headquarters building.

The Report of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association was not given because the representative had not arrived.

The Council approved the nomination of W. A. W. Stewart, Jr., as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, of Julian Roosevelt as a new member, and of Stanton Griffis for re-election.

The Council confirmed the appointment of Richard Current, University of Wisconsin, to the Board of Editors. He will replace Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale.

For the Committee on Committees, the Executive Secretary submitted nominations to the Council for additions and changes on the various Association committees. The committees for 1961 as approved by the Council are listed below:

Committee on Committees.—Joe Frantz, University of Texas;* Louis Morton, Dartmouth College;* Carl Schorske, University of California (Berkeley); Gordon Wright, Stanford University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Robert B. Eckles, Purdue University, chairman; Edwin Beale, Library of Congress;* Robert Byrnes, Indiana

* New member this year

University;* Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois; Willard Fletcher, University of Colorado;* Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Waldemar Westergaard, University of California (Los Angeles);* Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Graduate Education in History.—Dexter Perkins, Rochester, New York, chairman; Jacques Barzun, Columbia University; Fred Harvey Harrington, University of Wisconsin; Edward Kirkland, Thetford Center, Vermont; Leonard Krieger, Yale University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Guide to Historical Literature.—George F. Howe, Washington D. C., chairman; Gray C. Boyce, Northwestern University; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College; Howard F. Cline, Library of Congress; Sidney B. Fay, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Michael Kraus, City College of New York; Earl Pritchard, Haverford College; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—Walter Johnson, University of Chicago, chairman; David Donald, Princeton University;* Arthur Link, Princeton University.

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Charles A. Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Thomas LeDuc, Oberlin College; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff, Washington, D. C.; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Dexter Perkins, Rochester, New York; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Honorary Members.—Lynn Case, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Charles Griffin, Vassar College;* Oscar Handlin, Harvard University;* Charles Morley, Ohio State University;* John Wolf, University of Minnesota; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Waldo Gifford Leland, Washington, D. C.; John Curtiss, Duke University; Chester Easum, University of Wisconsin; Franklin Ford, Harvard University; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Job Register.—Harold E. Davis, American University; Aubrey C. Land, University of Maryland; Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University;* Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Julius Goebel, Columbia University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard Uni-

* New member this year.

versity; Alfred Kelly, Wayne State University;* Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Joseph Smith, New York City; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on South Asian History.—Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; David Owen, Harvard University; Earl Pritchard, Haverford College; Burton Stein, University of Minnesota;* Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee for the Study of War Documents.—Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Walter L. Dorn, Columbia University; Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan; Fritz Epstein, Bonn, Germany; Hans Gatzke, Johns Hopkins University; Reginald Phelps, Harvard University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University, chairman; Natt B. Burbank, Boulder, Colorado; William Cartwright, Duke University; Margareta Faissler, Baltimore, Maryland; Gilbert Fite, University of Oklahoma; Stanley Idzerda, Michigan State University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Hazel Wolf, Peoria, Illinois; Walker Wyman, Wisconsin State College (River Falls); Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on Television.—John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College, chairman; W. Burlie Brown, Tulane University; William C. Davis, George Washington University; Irving B. Holley, Duke University; Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University; Michael Petrovich, University of Wisconsin;* Bayrd Still, New York University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Richard Brace, Northwestern University, chairman; Theodore Hamerow, University of Wisconsin;* William O. Shanahan, University of Oregon.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Leften Stavrianos, Northwestern University, chairman; Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College; John Snell, Tulane University.*

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Glyndon G. Van Deusen, University of Rochester, chairman; Hugh Aitken, University of California (Riverside); Bernard Bailyn, Harvard University; Richard N. Current, University of Wisconsin; Charles Gibson, State University of Iowa.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Edmund Morgan, Yale University, chairman; Don Fehrenbacher, Stanford University;* Thomas Cochran, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Helen Taft Manning, Bryn Mawr College, chairman; Giovanni Costigan, University of Washington; Charles Mowat, University College of North Wales; Robert J. Walcott, College of Wooster; David Willson, University of Minnesota.

* New member this year.

Committee on the Moses Coit Tyler Prize.—Frederick Rudolph, Williams College, chairman; Daniel Boorstin, University of Chicago; David Davis, Cornell University;* John Higham, Rutgers University.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan, chairman; Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania; Stephan Hay, University of Chicago.*

The Council elected the following representatives and delegates: Louis Gottschalk for a three-year term to the Social Science Research Council; Robert Palmer for a four-year term to the American Council of Learned Societies; Julian Boyd (re-election) and Boyd Shafer for four-year terms to the National Historical Publications Commission.

The Council then gave its attention to the various committee reports. It elected with pleasure three new honorary members of the Association: François L. Ganshof of Belgium, Sir Keith Hancock of Australia, and Saukichi Tsuda of Japan. The Council suggested that in the future the Committee on Honorary Members give special attention to distinguished historians of the "late middle-aged" group. It approved the proposal of the Littleton-Griswold Committee to award a prize in the legal history of the United States, but somewhat modified the Committee's specific proposal and asked that the award of five hundred dollars be given every two years for the best study of the legal history of the United States to 1865.

The Council approved in slightly amended form the following resolution from the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government:

Historical studies produced by scholars in governmental service have from time to time been exploited and even plagiarized by private students given access to them. Government agencies employing historians should clearly recognize and vigilantly guard the interest of the individual creative writer in his scholarly production. Where possible, the name of the author should appear on published work. Contributions in manuscript form should be made available for nonofficial purposes only after consultation with the author. In any case the outside scholar who has access should express proper acknowledgment for any use of the original work.

The Council gave particular attention to the organization of a new Committee on Research Needs (see Council Minutes, *Review*, April 1959, page 815) and gave its approval to a proposed list of members.

For the Program Chairman in 1961, the Council elected Professor John Alden of Duke University, and as Local Arrangements Chairman, Professor David Brandenburg of American University. The Council reaffirmed its previous decision to meet at the Sheraton-Park and the Shoreham Hotels, Washington, D. C., in 1961; the Conrad Hilton, Chicago, in 1962; and the Sheraton, Philadelphia, in 1963. It gave its tentative approval to Washington as the place of the 1964 meeting and examined the possibilities of meeting on the West Coast in 1965.

The Executive Secretary outlined for the Council the activities and problems of the various special projects of the Association. He described the work of the Service Center, particularly the success of the pamphlets designed to bridge the gap between the teacher in the classroom and the professional historian. The Council expressed deep satisfaction with the work the Service Center has accomplished to date, its desire to continue it, and its readiness to support it within the

* New member this year.

Association's financial limitations. The work on the German war documents, the Executive Secretary stated, was proceeding satisfactorily and over eight million pages of the documents had been microfilmed. The Council approved the request of the War Documents Committee that a small additional sum be sought for microfilming in the Berlin Document Center. The Executive Secretary announced that the *Guide to Historical Literature* was in the final press stages, that a "dummy copy" was being displayed during the meeting, and that advance orders were arriving at a rapid rate. The Council discussed briefly the difficulties encountered in the editing of the "Guide to Photocopied Materials." In the absence of Councilor Stanley Pargellis, the Executive Secretary spoke of the five volumes of bibliographies of British history, of which one has been published. Professor Dexter Perkins summarized the findings of the Committee on Graduate Education and announced that the volume resulting from the committee's study was now in the hands of a New York publisher. The Executive Secretary reported on the work of the Committee on South Asian History and stated that three professors are now teaching in the United States under the Association's auspices and that a fourth would arrive in the spring.

The Council then turned its attention to the subject of television. The Committee on Television had proposed televised programs with panels and lectures on large historical topics, but the interested foundation had desired courses for credit. The Association's Committee on Television had, however, believed that regular TV courses are best prepared and given by schools and colleges. The Executive Secretary was instructed to write to the foundation once more and explain the Association's position, and, if the foundation was not interested, to return the balance of the small sum advanced. In the event that the Association's plans were rejected, the Council asked that the Executive Secretary of the Association accept a recommendation of Professor Allan Nevins that other historical groups be asked to consider history courses on TV.

The Council examined the possibility of additional graduate fellowships in history under the National Defense Act. It asked the Executive Secretary to forward a memorandum of the Committee on Graduate Education to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with the two slight changes. This memorandum, in brief, marshals the evidence for an increased number of these fellowships in history.

The Executive Secretary spoke briefly of positions in government of particular interest to historical study, and the Council expressed its hope that appointments to these positions be made solely on the basis of scholarship, professional training, and experience.

The Executive Secretary discussed a proposal of the Macmillan Company for a scholarly "Encyclopedia of American History." The Council asked that the Executive Secretary carry on further discussions in order to arrive at concrete proposals which might then be further considered.

For informational purposes only, the Executive Secretary described various proposals for more studies in Asian and African history. The Council approved an approach to foundations for additional funds to provide more Service Center pamphlets in the fields of Asian and African history.

The Council approved, in principle, a proposal for a joint Anglo-American study of "National Bias in the School Books of the United Kingdom and the United States" and an approach to a foundation for the necessary funds. It noted that the Historical Association of Great Britain had also agreed to support the project in principle.

President Schmitt discussed the question of the reprinting of scholarly works. He and others gave illustrations of reprinting without the consent of the authors. The Council asked President Schmitt and the Executive Secretary to prepare a resolution for the Business Meeting. This resolution, as it was later formulated, follows:

The Council has been made aware of the increasing habit of publishers of reprinting or reproducing in some form writings of historians without their knowledge or consent.

If reproduction in any form is proposed, publishers of scholarly books and scholarly articles should always inform the author, obtain his consent, and give him the opportunity to make necessary changes or corrections.

The author should also be assured of proper compensation and should receive a copy of the publication. The same consideration should be shown to historical writers when their work is reproduced on radio or television.

The Council also gave sympathetic attention to a proposal that the Chairman of the Program Committee confer with the President of the Association in the preparation of the annual program. It was the consensus that the Chairman of the Program Committee should have freedom to formulate the program within the general framework of the policies of the Association; it would, however, be desirable that he write to the President of the Association, ask for his opinion, and learn of the nature of the President's annual address.

For 1961, the Council elected to the Executive Committee: John Hope Franklin, chairman; Samuel Flagg Bemis; Mildred Campbell; Elmer Louis Kayser; Bernadotte E. Schmitt; and Boyd C. Shafer. It re-elected the present Finance Committee: John Hope Franklin, Elmer Louis Kayser, and Boyd C. Shafer.

The two incoming members of the Council, Clement Eaton and Gaines Post, were appointed to the Resolutions Committee.

As further business, the Executive Secretary described a project already approved by the Executive Committee for a joint study with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association of censorship in textbooks. At the request of the American Council of Learned Societies, of which the Association is a constituent, the Council considered and then approved an amendment to the constitution of that body. The Council debated at some length the desirability of providing a theme for the annual program of the Association, but no action was taken.

The Council adjourned at 5:55 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
THE STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY
DECEMBER 29, 1960, 4:30 P.M.

President Bernadotte Schmitt called the meeting to order with about 150 members present, about one hundred additional members coming in during the meeting. The minutes of the last meeting (printed and circulated in the April 1960 *Review*, (pages 768-70) were accepted.

The Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review*, Boyd C. Shafer, gave his annual report (see pages 887-94). President Schmitt expressed his deep appreciation of the great capacity, energy, and devotion the Executive Secretary has shown in his work for the Association, the *Review*, for historians, and the historical profession in America.

Dean Elmer Louis Kayser presented the Treasurer's report for 1959-1960. He pointed out that on August 31, 1960, the Association had total assets of \$343,000 available in unrestricted funds, and \$529,862 for restricted purposes and grant projects. Funds, unrestricted and restricted, composing the total assets, amounted to \$872,817, at book value. He indicated, however, that disbursements, especially on special projects, had increased and that in addition there had been a decline in the total assets because of a decrease in the value of securities. The report, which was distributed at the Business Meeting, was unanimously accepted.

Upon Council nomination, W. A. W. Stewart, Jr., of the United States Trust Company of New York City was elected Chairman of the Association's Board of Trustees, Stanton Griffis of New York was re-elected, and Julian Roosevelt also of New York was elected to the Board.

Professor H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University, Chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1960, presented the nominations for the officers of the Association in 1961: for President, Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University; for Vice-President, Carl Bridenbaugh, University of California (Berkeley); for Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. The Executive Secretary, on motion, was instructed to cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected. Professor Hughes announced that, as a result of the mail ballot for members of the Council and the Nominating Committee, John Caughey of the University of California (Los Angeles) and Gordon Wright of Stanford University had been elected to the Council, and that Stow Persons of the State University of Iowa, David Pinkney of the University of Missouri, and Lewis Hanke of Columbia University were elected to the Nominating Committee. The report of the Nominating Committee was accepted. Professor Gordon Craig of Princeton University will be chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1961.

The Executive Secretary presented the proposed constitutional amendment on the change in dues (annual membership, ten dollars; student membership, five dollars; life membership, two hundred dollars) which had been circulated earlier to the members. After a brief discussion, the amendment was accepted by a large majority. The voted increase for annual dues will take effect for the year beginning September 1, 1961, and for life memberships which begin on or after that date.

The Executive Secretary reported on actions taken by the Council at its meeting on December 27 (see pages 894-900). He also announced new appointments of the Council to various Association committees, its selection of delegates to various scholarly groups (see pages 895-98), and the selection of Richard Current of the University of Wisconsin as the new member of the Board of Editors to replace Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale University, whose term had expired.

The Executive Secretary indicated the times and places of meetings for the next three years (see page 898). For the 1961 meeting, he said, the Program Chairman will be John Alden of Duke University and the Local Arrangements Chairman David Brandenburg of American University.

Other actions taken by the Council at its meeting were briefly mentioned (see pages 898-900). The following resolution prepared for presentation at the Business Meeting at the request of the Council was read and approved:

The Council has been made aware of the increasing habit of publishers of reprinting or reproducing in some form writings of historians without their knowledge or consent.

If reproduction in any form is proposed, publishers of scholarly books and scholarly articles should always inform the author, obtain his consent, and give him the opportunity to make necessary changes or corrections.

The author should also be assured of proper compensation and should receive a copy of the publication. The same consideration should be shown to historical writers when their work is reproduced on radio or television.

Armin Rappaport gave a brief report on the activities of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association. The complete report, he stated, can be read in the *Pacific Historical Review*. The Branch now has about one thousand members; the time of the fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Branch will be August 29, 30, and 31. His report was accepted.

For the Committee on Resolutions the Executive Secretary presented the following resolution:

Resolved: That the American Historical Association extend its sincere thanks and deep appreciation to Professor Leonard Krieger and the members of his committee for the excellent program that we have enjoyed, and to Professor Madeline Robinton and those who have worked with her for the magnificent way in which they have taken care of us. We have been warmly welcomed, our sessions have been well organized, fine papers have been given, and the arrangements have been efficient and thoughtful.

The resolution was accepted.

As no other business was presented, Lawrence Gipson, the oldest member present, moved adjournment. The meeting closed at approximately 5:55 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

In 1961 the American Historical Association will meet at the Sheraton-Park and the Shoreham Hotels, Washington, D. C., December 28-30. John Alden of

Duke University is the Program Chairman, and David Brandenburg of American University is the Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Senator Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island has given the Library of Congress his personal papers for the twenty-four-year period he served in the United States Senate. Numbering about 750,000 items for the years 1937-1960, the papers include the Senator's correspondence with many national leaders and materials on his activities as a member and chairman of the Foreign Relations and Rules Committees, as a member of the special committee on aeronautical and space sciences, and as chairman of the congressional delegation to the second, third, and fourth NATO parliamentary conferences. Other extensive files relate to neutrality legislation in the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, national defense, veterans' affairs, and social security.

The Library has also received approximately ten thousand papers of Jacques Loeb, American biologist, from his daughter, Mrs. Anne L. Osborne, and his sons, Dr. Leonard B. Loeb and Dr. Robert F. Loeb. They contain correspondence (1880-1924), notebooks of Loeb's experiments in inducing parthenogenesis and regeneration by chemical stimulæ, manuscripts and proof sheets of many of his books and articles, and related material. The Library has also received some eleven hundred papers concerned with the Civil War career of General Joseph Warren Keifer (1836-1932) as the gift of his son, Mr. William W. Keifer. They contain almost eight hundred letters from General Keifer to his wife telling of his observations, reflections, and his daily activities as an officer in the Ohio volunteers. The Keifer papers also include headquarters correspondence, a military letterbook for the period from June 16, 1863, to June 20, 1865, and reports of military operations. Mrs. Stuart Symington, Mr. Reverdy Wadsworth, and Mr. Jeremiah Wadsworth have presented about fifteen thousand papers (1730-1952) which reflect the activities of four generations of the Wadsworth family in New York. Also included in the collection are letters of Jeremiah Wadsworth and John Hay, whose daughter Alice married James W. Wadsworth, Jr. Mrs. Helen M. Sellers has given approximately 53,000 Garfield family papers, including material by and relating to James A. Garfield, his wife, and four sons.

The National Archives has published T. R. Schellenberg's revised edition of *The Preparation of Lists of Record Items*, pertaining to the description of records below the series level, and preliminary inventory no. 132, *Records of the Office of Community War Services*, compiled by Estelle Rebec.

Among the microfilm publications recently completed by the National Archives are Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of China, 1910-1929 (227 rolls), to Political Relations between the United States and China, 1910-1929 (two rolls), and to Political Relations between the United States and Russia and the Soviet Union, 1910-1929 (seven rolls); Abstracts of Service of Naval Officers, 1798-1893 (nineteen rolls); and Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the States of Texas (445 rolls) and Virginia (1,075 rolls). The American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents has prepared, and the National Archives

has published, the following guides to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia: no. 18, *Records of Headquarters, German Armed Forces High Command* (Part III); no. 19, *Records of Headquarters, German Armed Forces High Command* (Part IV); and no. 20, *Records of the National Socialist German Labor Party* (Part II). Additional information about the microfilm and copies of the publications may be obtained from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

The Department of State deposited approximately one thousand containers of microfilmed documents from the Archives of the former German Foreign Office. Inquiries concerning these microfilms should be addressed to the National Archives and Records Service, Washington 25, D. C.

More than two thousand file drawers of papers accumulated at the White House during the Eisenhower administration, plus books and other materials, have been transferred to the Eisenhower Library at Abilene, Kansas. The library is one of the presidential libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Service under the provisions of the amended Federal Records Act of 1950. It is expected to be completed by October, but it will be some time after that before any of the papers will be available for research. Robert R. Bolton has been appointed acting director of the library. Since 1957 Mr. Bolton has served as liaison with the White House on matters of record.

Recent additions to the manuscript collections of the Harry S. Truman Library include: the papers of J. Howard McGrath relating mainly to his service as United States Senator and Attorney General; the papers of Alfred Schindler pertaining to his public career including his service as Undersecretary of Commerce; additional papers of Stephen J. Spingarn, administrative assistant to President Truman and former member of the Federal Trade Commission; scrapbooks of newspaper clippings and World War II aerial photographs of bombing targets, presented by former Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett; and records of the National Aircraft War Production Council. All of these records will be made available to researchers as soon as they have been processed by the library staff. Other recent acquisitions include microfilm copies from the Library of Congress of the papers of James Monroe, Martin Van Buren, Abraham Lincoln, Chester Arthur, and Grover Cleveland.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has received Leon Henderson's personal papers covering his service in the National Recovery Administration and in the Office of Price Administration. These papers, comprising about forty thousand pages of material, are open for research use. In connection with the nationwide observance of the centennial of the Civil War, the library has issued a preliminary list of the Civil War paintings, drawings, and prints in the Roosevelt "naval collection." The list covers 103 paintings, prints, drawings, lithographs, and sketches. Copies will be furnished free upon request by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

At the meeting of the Council of the American Historical Association on December 27, 1960, Boyd C. Shafer was elected to membership on the National Historical Publications Commission, succeeding Guy Stanton Ford, who had resigned after ten years of service as one of the two representatives of the Association on that commission. Julian P. Boyd was re-elected to membership for an additional

four-year term. The commission sponsored a luncheon in the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York City, on December 29, 1960, for about eighty editors, publishers, and friends of documentary publication projects with which the commission is cooperating. Guests were welcomed by Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States and chairman of the commission. With Louis B. Wright, director of the Folger Library presiding, the following papers were read: "The Pre-History and Origins of the Commission" by Waldo G. Leland; "A Decade of Promise" by Julian P. Boyd; and "The Commission's *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts*" by Lyman H. Butterfield.

Columbia University has received an extensive manuscript collection that provides significant new insight into the Jacksonian era.

Among the papers recently received by the University of Washington Library are those of Edward W. Allen, John E. Boyer, and Arthur B. Langlie.

Dr. Harold Dean Cater, executive director of Sleepy Hollow Restorations, announced that the Restorations' research department has now made available the New York Port Records covering the years 1699-1765.

Mrs. Winifred Stilwell, widow of the late General Joseph W. Stilwell, has removed restrictions on General Stilwell's wartime papers which are deposited in the Hoover Library for War, Revolution and Peace, at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

An International Commission of Maritime History has been created by the International Committee of Historical Sciences. The commission plans several scholarly works, including a revision of the *Glossaire Nautique*, and will organize international meetings. The President is Michel Mollat and the Secretary General, P. Paul Adam, whose address is Ministère de la Marine Marchande, Place de Fontenoy, Paris VII^e. Professor Frederic C. Lane of Johns Hopkins University is a member of the governing body.

The Société Jean Bodin pour l'Étude comparative de l'Histoire des Institutions held its fourteenth convention in Toulouse, October 1-6, 1960, to study "The Monocracy." Among those attending were two Americans, Sylvia Thrupp of the University of Chicago and Marc Szeftel of Cornell University. Fifty-eight studies and general reports were read, among them three from the United States.

The Anglo-American Conference of Historians will be held July 6-8 at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

In December 1960 the Ford Foundation made a ten-year grant of \$5,670,000 to the American Council of Learned Societies to support the Council's basic program. The ACLS fellowship program will now be extended to scholars over the age of forty-five, and more fellowships will go to members of small college faculties. The Foundation also granted the Council \$2,500,000 to support American studies abroad. Under the grant the Council will establish a fellowship program under which European scholars can study American subjects in the United States and will provide for professorships in American studies at European universities. Information concerning ACLS activities can be obtained from its headquarters at 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.

The Ford Foundation has granted eight million dollars to the Council on Library Resources for research into improved library methods, with emphasis on ways of storing and finding information in the "library of the future."

The American Council of Learned Societies announced the appointment of twenty-six post-doctoral fellows, who will be freed from regular duties to engage in research in the humanities for periods of six months to one year during 1961-1962. Those appointed include: Rudolph Binion, Richard M. Dorson, J. Joseph Huthmacher, and Brian Tierney.

Among forty-two scholars awarded grants-in-aid by the Council for research in the humanities and related social sciences during 1961 are: Charles S. Braden, Charles T. Davis, J. Huntley Dupre, Robert E. McNally, Derek J. Price, Darrett B. Rutman, and Harold Seymour. J. Norman Parmer of Northern Illinois University received a travel grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

The American Association for State and Local History has announced an award of one thousand dollars each year to the author of the unpublished manuscript in local history that makes the most distinguished contribution to United States or Canadian historiography. Other meritorious manuscripts submitted in the competition may be accepted for publication, but only one award will be made. Manuscripts must be scholarly in character, and literary merit will be a consideration. If no manuscript is considered worthy, no award will be granted. The Association has also established a grant-in-aid program for significant research projects in local history. Further information can be obtained from Clement M. Silvestro, Director, American Association for State and Local History, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

Funds are available for the awarding of grants-in-aid by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs. In general the awards will amount to less than one thousand dollars and are meant to cover travel and living expenses of students who wish to do research at the library on subjects pertaining to the Truman administration. Applications for grants should be made to the director of the library by May 10, 1961, for the summer vacation period.

The Society for Italian Historical Studies, with the assistance of the America-Italy Society, again offers a prize of two hundred dollars for the best unpublished study in the history of Italy, of article or essay length (twenty thousand words or less). Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield, The Ambassador, Baltimore 18, Maryland, must receive the manuscripts not later than July 1, 1961. Dr. John M. Cammett of Hunter College won the Society's 1960 contest for his "Antonio Gramsci and the Ordine Nuovo Movement: A Study in the Rise of Italian Communism."

The William P. Lyons Master's Essay Award was presented to Staughton J. Lynd for his "Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York: A Study of Democracy and Class Conflict in the Revolutionary Era." Essays submitted for the master's degree in any university in the United States for the academic year ending June 1961 are eligible for the award. The final date for submission of manuscripts is July 15, 1961. Applications can be secured from Dr. Edward T. Gargan, Chairman, William P. Lyons Master's Essay Award Committee, Department of History, Loyola University, Chicago 26, Illinois.

A series of fellowships in Nebraska history have been established in the Nebraska State Historical Society from money provided by the Woods Charitable Fund. The purpose of the fellowships, averaging four thousand dollars each, is to produce a series of monographic studies on significant aspects of Nebraska's development in preparation for Nebraska's centennial year, 1967. Inquiries concerning the fellowships should be addressed to Mr. W. D. Aeschbacher, Nebraska State Historical Society, 1500 R Street, Lincoln 8, Nebraska.

The University of Chicago has established the Ferdinand Schevill Distinguished Service Professorship in the Humanities. It will be awarded to "a person who has attained distinction as a scholar and teacher within the field of the humanistic disciplines, including history."

The National Institutes of Health has established a study section to assist the Public Health Service in the review of grant applications in the history of medicine.

Stanford University's Borden Award of four hundred dollars, given annually for the most distinguished and original research work using the resources of the Hoover Institution will be shared by Charles F. Delzell of Vanderbilt University for his book *Mussolini's Enemies: The Anti-Fascist Resistance*, and Joachim Remak of Lewis and Clark College for his book *Sarajevo*.

Murray G. Lawson, chief of the Western European Branch of the Office of Research and Analysis in the United States Information Agency, received a Brookings Institution federal executive fellowship for 1961 to work on a public opinion study of British national security in the nuclear age (1945-1960).

In recognition of his book *The Science of Mechanics in the Middle Ages*, Marshall Clagett has received the Pfizer Award of five hundred dollars for the outstanding contribution to the history of science published in 1959.

PUBLICATIONS

The Association of American Colleges has published the fourth edition of *Fellowships in the Arts and Sciences*, including those for 1961-1962. It may be purchased (\$3.00) from the American Council on Education, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The *Journal of Roman Studies*, the publication of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London, has published a jubilee volume, celebrating fifty years of work by the Society.

Publisher's Weekly notes that one hundred books on the Civil War or on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War were published in 1960, of which eighty-five are new books and fifteen, new editions.

Macmillan, Collier's *Encyclopedia*, and the Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, have announced the future publication of a new encyclopedia of the social sciences, the first in its field in more than twenty-five years. W. Allen Wallis, professor of economics and statistics and dean of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago, was appointed chairman of the editorial board. Among his council of advisers will be Oscar Handlin of Harvard University.

In December 1946 an Anglo-American conference in Berlin worked out the editorial principles for the publication of the *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*. Between 1949 and 1960 thirteen volumes have been published for the Hitler period (Series C and D) and several more have been prepared. Now an international commission of historians has been constituted for the preparation of a series comprising the era of the Weimar Republic. The conference of the editors in chief (Maurice Baumont, France; Hans Rothfels, German Federal Republic; Howard M. Smyth, United States), the historical adviser (Alan Bullock, United Kingdom), and several other participants met on December 8 at Bonn. Agreement was reached on the general plan and the editorial principles.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The following officers of the Society of American Archivists were elected for 1960-1961: President, Philip M. Hamer; Vice-President, Robert H. Bahmer; Secretary, Dolores C. Renze; Treasurer, Leon deValinger, Jr.; Editor of the *American Archivist*, Kenneth W. Munden. The Society's twenty-fifth anniversary meeting will be held in Kansas City, Missouri, October 4-6, 1961.

The 1960-1961 officers of the Southern Historical Association are: Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky, President; Rembert W. Patrick, University of Florida, Vice-President; Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky, Secretary-Treasurer; William H. Masterson, Rice Institute, Editor of the *Journal of Southern History*.

Logan Wilson, chancellor of the University of Texas, was elected president of the American Council on Education, succeeding Arthur S. Adams, who has held the office since January 1, 1951.

The booklet *Higher Education Planning and Management Data, 1959-1960* (United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, circular 614) summarizes statistics for salaries of academic personnel. The average faculty salary (nine to ten months) in four-year institutions was \$6,810. The "median mean" salary for professors in private institutions was \$11,020, in public institutions \$9,480; for associate professors, \$7,730 and \$7,590; for assistant professors, \$6,310 and \$6,380; for instructors, \$5,180 and \$5,160. Salaries in liberal arts colleges averaged less than the above figures, and the regional variation as well as that between public and private institutions was considerable. The "maximum mean" salary for university professors in private institutions was \$15,850, in public institutions, \$13,450, while in liberal arts colleges the "maximum mean" professorial salary was respectively \$12,250 and \$13,550.

The Fourth Annual Civil War Conference, sponsored annually by Gettysburg College, was held November 17-19, 1960. The theme for the series of lectures was "Politics in a Dividing Nation: The Election of 1860." Norman A. Graebner (University of Illinois) delivered the opening lecture on "The Politicians and Slavery," and the following papers were read: "The Irrepressible Republicans," Don E. Fehrenbacher (Stanford University); "Douglas at Charleston," Robert W. Johannsen (University of Illinois); "The Northern Campaign," William E. Baringer (University of Florida); "The Fatal Predicament," Avery Craven (University of Chicago).

The Right Reverend John Tracy Ellis resigned as Secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association, effective February 20, 1961. Reverend Robert Trisco, instructor at Catholic University and Assistant Secretary of the Association, will succeed Monsignor Ellis.

American University will offer the Eighth Institute on Records Management, May 15-26; the Fifteenth Institute in the Preservation and Administration of Archives, June 5-30; and the Eleventh Institute of Genealogical Research, July 10-28. Information concerning the institutes can be obtained from Dr. Ernst Posner, American University, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation, Colonial Williamsburg, and the American Association for State and Local History announce a third Seminar for Historical Administrators to be held in Williamsburg, Virginia, June 19-July 28.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Arkansas State Teachers College: Lewis A. Dralle promoted to professor, Orville W. Rook, to associate professor. *Centre College of Kentucky:* Charles R. Lee, Jr., appointed instructor. *University of Cincinnati:* Hilmar C. Krueger named dean of the University College; Richard Face of Washington University (St. Louis) appointed to the staff. *Haverford College:* Craig R. Thompson appointed

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

professor. *Hollins College*: John A. Logan, Jr., of Yale University named president. *Indiana University*: Robert E. Quirk and Leo F. Solt promoted to associate professor, John Thompson and Michael Wolff, to assistant professor; Ronald Schaffer appointed instructor; Edward Grant appointed to the staff; Wendell N. Calkins and Tien-yi Li appointed visiting professor; Maurice Baxter named director of the Lilly Program. *Memphis State University*: Leonard P. Curry promoted to assistant professor; Perry E. LeRoy and Paul H. Smith appointed assistant professor, John H. Ellis, instructor; Edward M. Coffman on leave. *Mercer University*: Robert Harry Spiro, Jr., appointed professor and dean of the liberal arts faculty. *University of Michigan*: Martin D. Lewis of Baldwin-Wallace College, Dale Riepe of the University of North Dakota, and L. C. Wright of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina appointed faculty interns in Asian Studies for the year 1960-61. *Montana State University*: Robert W. Coonrod of Arizona State University appointed professor and dean of the college of arts and sciences.

University of Nebraska: Robert L. Koehl on leave for the year 1960-61. *Ohio State University*: Robert H. Bremner promoted to professor, Philip P. Poirier, to associate professor; John C. Rule and John J. TePaske appointed assistant professor, John Barnard, John Braeman, C. Stewart Doty, Roger B. Manning, John Y. Simon, Norman L. Trusty, John T. Von Der Heide, and Kenneth W. Wheeler, instructor; Leo A. Loubère of the University of Buffalo named visiting lecturer for the spring quarter; William H. Braisted of the University of Texas appointed a Merzhon post-doctoral fellow. *University of Pennsylvania*: John F. Benton and Alexander Riasanovsky promoted to assistant professor; James C. Davis of Oberlin College appointed assistant professor. *Russell Sage College*: Sherman D. Spector of the State College for Teachers (Albany, New York) appointed to the staff. *Saint Mary's College* (Los Angeles): David K. Bjork, professor emeritus at the University of California, Los Angeles, appointed to the staff. *Sarah Lawrence College*: Paul Langdon Ward of the Carnegie Institute of Technology named president.

Texas Technological College: William M. Pearce named academic vice-president. *University of Washington*: Solomon Katz appointed dean of the college of arts and sciences. *Wayne State University*: Stephen Fisher promoted to associate professor, John Weiss, to assistant professor. *University of Western Ontario*: Albert V. Tucker promoted to assistant professor; Allan Wilson appointed assistant professor, Thayron A. Sandquist, instructor. *University of Wisconsin*: Joel Colton of Duke University named visiting professor, Jan Vansina of the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale, visiting associate professor during the second semester. *Yale University*: C. Vann Woodward of Johns Hopkins University named to Sterling professorship. *Youngstown University*: Alfred D. Low promoted to professor.

RECENT DEATHS

Alice Baldwin, professor emeritus of history and former dean of the Woman's College, Duke University, died in October 1960.

John Allen Kinnaman, professor of history and chairman of the department of Morris Harvey College, died November 14, 1960, at the age of thirty-four.

Teacher and student of American colonial history, he gave particular attention to the economic history of colonial Maryland.

Mark Anthony DeWolfe Howe died December 6, 1960, at the age of ninety-six. He was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1924 for his biography *Barrett Wendell and His Letters*.

Paul S. Szego, retired historian and geographer of the Army Map Service, died December 24, 1960, at the age of seventy-one.

James Harold Easterby, director of the South Carolina Archives Department, died in Columbia, December 29, 1960, at the age of sixty-two. Graduating in 1920 from the College of Charleston, he continued his studies at Harvard University where he completed his master's degree in 1922. His teaching career began at the College of Charleston in 1920 and continued until 1949, interrupted only by the completion of his doctoral degree, in 1945, at the University of Chicago. Professor Easterby's historical interests centered upon his native South Carolina, and his most important contribution to the historical profession began when he became director of the South Carolina Archives Department in 1949. He also served as a trustee of the County Free Library and the Charleston Library Society, as a member of the Charleston Historical Commission, as president of the South Carolina Historical Society, 1940-1942, and as president of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1935-1936. He was the editor of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 1942-1948, editor of the *Proceedings* of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1931-1933 and 1944-1945, and a member of the board of editors of the *Journal of Southern History*, 1947-1950. From 1952 to 1955 he was a member of the council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, and in 1958 he was elected a fellow by the Society of American Archivists. Dr. Easterby's humility, his helpfulness to fledgling scholars embarking upon research, and his deep devotion to history impressed all who were associated with him.

Prescott Winson Townsend of Bloomington, Indiana, a life member of the Association, died January 4, 1961.

George Holland Sabine, emeritus professor of philosophy at Cornell University, died January 18 at the age of eighty. Dr. Sabine, one of the great American students of the history of political philosophy, received his Ph.D. degree from Cornell in 1906 and taught at Stanford University, the University of Missouri, and Ohio State University. He joined the Cornell faculty in 1931, where he remained until his retirement in 1948. His superb *A History of Political Theory* has been a basic book for many historians, political scientists, and philosophers. To the last, Professor Sabine gave generously of his time and knowledge to students and colleagues.

Lynn J. Montross, United States Marine Corps historian and specialist in military history, died January 28 at the age of sixty-five.

Theodore Clark Smith, Emeritus Woodrow Wilson Professor of American History and Government at Williams College, died recently at the age of ninety.

E. H. Nettles, professor emeritus at the University of California, Santa Barbara, died recently.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor H. Stuart Hughes in his article, "The Historian and the Social Scientist" (*AHR*, LXVI [Oct. 1960], 20-46), feels that we historians are obsessed with the individuality and uniqueness of men and events. Instead we should ascend the lofty heights of metahistory.

History deals with what really was, not with what might have been or with what could or should be. Each person is a microcosm. Each series of events in human history is unique. We must study man where and as he is or was if we are to understand him in the deepest sense. The verb of being is here used in the existential sense rather than as merely indicating being and function. The factor involving any sequence of human events whose absence would make it inconceivable is man himself. He is the creator of his society from within himself and is not merely its creature. The effort to introduce schematizations into the interpretation of the actual events and persons of the past, when carried too far, leads to distortions. Theorizing has its uses, but it must not become a Procrustean bed for reality.

The excessive, really bizarre schematizations employed by Soviet historians serve as my *exempla ad horrendum*. In view of their philosophy of history, it is not surprising that they also oppose emphasis upon the uniqueness of men and events. According to them all history is one big scheme of class struggles. I debated this point with five history professors of Moscow University while on a recent visit to Russia. They are concerned with whatever was typical in any event or process. The unique does not interest them. Rather than study a definite manor with all its anomalies and uniqueness they prefer to fit it into a schematic "feudal system."

In other words, *universalia ante rem*. But the true historian can never be a philosophical Realist. He must be a Nominalist. As the late Sir Ernest Barker wrote somewhere in commenting on Toynbee's notorious schematizations: "The salt virtues of life are variety and versatility [*poiikilia* and *eutrapelia*]*—*the virtues Pericles celebrated and Plato held to be vices." We must indeed not lose ourselves as "starry-eyed Platonists" in impossibly schematic *Republics*. As historians we must keep before our eyes the *poleis* of reality as did Pericles when he contrasted the Athens and Sparta of his day.

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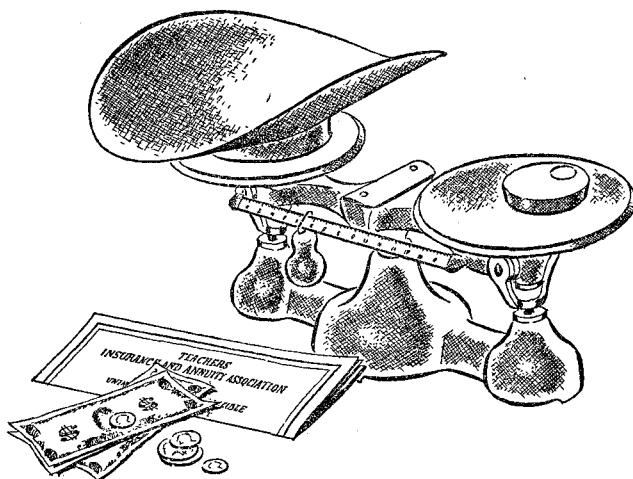
PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The official organ, the *American Historical Review*, is published quarterly and sent to all members. It is available by subscription to others. In addition, the Association publishes its *Annual Report*, prize monographs, pamphlets designed to aid teachers of history, and bibliographical as well as other volumes. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers many other services. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

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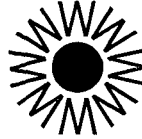
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